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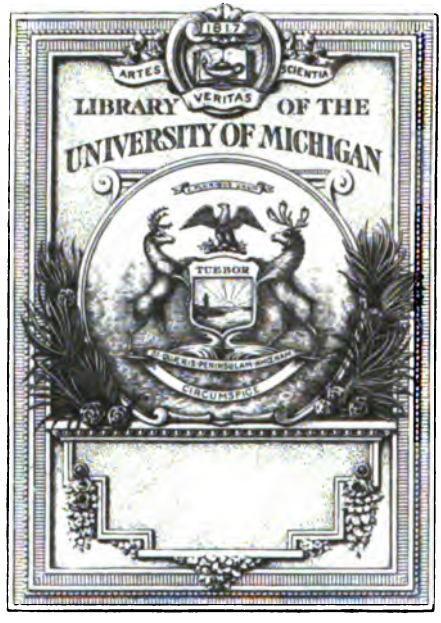
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THE 'CHOEPHORI'

OF

AESCHYLUS.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ.

THE 'CHOEPHORI'

OF

AESCHYLUS

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND TRANSLATION

BY

A. W. VERRALL, LITT. D.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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1893

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TO

SAMUEL HENRY BUTCHER, LL.D., LITT.D.,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

My dear BUTCHER,

Here at last is another part finished, perhaps the most critical part, of the work upon which, with infinite enjoyment of my own and sometimes, I willingly believe, to the pleasure and profit of others, I am spending the not too abundant leisure of my life. Very gladly do I use your permission to address the book, with all regard and honour, especially to you. No one will read it with a more vigilant care for the poet or a kinder consideration for the editor.

Ever yours affectionately,

A. W. VERRALL.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
Feb. 4, 1893.

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PREFACE.

LITTLE, I think, is required in the way of special preface to the present instalment of my 'Aeschylus'. I have used constantly, as for the *Septem* and the *Agamemnon*, the critical apparatus of Professors Wecklein and Vitelli (1885), and the commentaries of Paley and of my friend Mr A. Sidgwick. For this volume I have also had the full advantage of Dr Wecklein's explanatory commentary (1888), and—not less helpful than any—the still indispensable edition of the *Choephori* by Conington, from whom, as will be seen, I have not unfrequently copied entire notes, and whose grasp of fact, whose insight and prudence, I have incessantly had occasion to admire.

I must not omit to mention here, as well as in the particular place, my debt to my friend Professor Ridgeway for the hint out of which has been developed the essay on the scene of the *Recognition*—important if anything in this volume is such. That the book is not without a certain importance for lovers of Aeschylus, I do believe, or I should not still be giving my time to this series. I trust there is no harm in confessing my belief, if only in gratitude to the many whose praise and sympathy have encouraged me to go on. To my less indulgent critics I am equally though otherwise indebted.

One acknowledgment I have never made before, but once at least for all it shall be made. There are not a few scholars in

England, as I am proud to think, who can imagine for themselves how much, for anything good that I may do, I am indebted to the scholar who is my wife.

The staff of the University Press have deserved my sincere thanks for the diligence and care with which their part of the work has been done.

One word as to the typography, and specially with regard to the critical notes. In all cases, except a few very trivial errors of spelling or accentuation, the reading of the Medicean MS., if it differs from the printed text, is given immediately below. If there is divergence of letters, and therefore a disputable question of authority, it is further indicated in the text itself by putting the variant letters in an uncial type. Even insignificant variations of this kind have often, but not always, been so marked, particularly in the earlier part of the play. It did not however seem worth while to distract the reader's eye, even for a second, in order to note that for the fortieth or fiftieth time *ει* and *ι*, *αι* and *η*, etc., were treated as indifferent methods of denoting the same sound.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Story of Orestes[1].

In tracing the links by which the second part of the *Orestea* is connected with the first, we are in one respect even less advantageously situated than with regard to the Aeschylean legends in general. It would have been in the prologue to the *Choephori* that we should have expected to find such an account of intermediate events, if any, as the dramatist thought to be necessary: and the prologue, all but some small fragments, is lost. Had it been entire however, it would probably have told us little more than we now know. Except for the information of the audience, there is no reason in nature why Orestes, visiting his father's grave, should give a history of himself: and we may suppose that here as elsewhere Aeschylus presumed the audience to be already informed.

But if, as is the case, the sparse allusions in this and the preceding play are far from giving us the Aeschylean story of Orestes in a complete chain of events, and assume more than we can supply, it is fortunately otherwise with the main purpose and controlling genius of the story. It is essentially a legend of the Apolline religion; and we can scarcely be wrong in supposing that, by whomsoever in the course of legend-making sundry details may have been introduced, it was the authority of Delphi which fixed the general shape of the version used in the *Choephori*.

[1] Aristophanes, in *Frogs* 1124, gives the name *Story of Orestes* (*Orestea*) not to the trilogy, but to the second play, our *Choephori*. At least he appears to do so, nor is it easy to understand the passage otherwise. This may be merely a slip; but it is quite likely that the titles of the Aeschylean plays fluctuated in popular usage before they were fixed by the learned; and in sense, as distinct from form, the title describes our play better than it describes the entire work.

Of the *Choephori* only this is true, not of the *Orestea*, or not to the same extent. The story of the *Agamemnon* is neither Apolline nor essentially religious. The facts are moralized from a religious point of view, as would be those of any story which passed through the handling of Aeschylus. But they are moralized, so to speak, from outside. Stripped of the religious interpretation, there would still be ample material of interest in the Thyestean feast, the death of Iphigenia, the passion of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, the conspiracy, the storm, the signal, the triumphal entry, the vision of Cassandra, the fatal bath, the dupes and hirelings of the usurper, and the final overthrow of the Argive liberties. No theological prepossession is required to account for the existence of the story, which is constructed primarily to satisfy the human appetite for exciting narrative. There is in the piece no divine agency more direct and special than the general government of Providence; and Apollo in particular is but slightly attached to it through the punishment of the false Cassandra. In the *Eumenides* on the other hand, though the field is almost filled with divine personages, the religion taught is not by any means that of Delphi, nor of Hellas in general. It is the creed of Athens, or rather a creed for Athens, and the maker of it is Aeschylus. Apollo and the wisdom of Delphi have neither the highest place nor the last word; and religion itself, in its proper personal aspect, is merged in a sort of higher politics, which might have been approved at Delphi as best in the circumstances, but assuredly was neither invented nor preached by the possessors of the oracle. Indeed the *Eumenides*, alone of the extant plays, might be called original in plot as well as treatment, since in it the legendary data bear a small proportion to the transformations or additions of the author; for which very reason it is singularly easy of comprehension for us.

But the story of the *Choephori* is, in a different sense and the proper sense, a legend of religion. It is legendary as the *Eumenides* is not, and religious as the *Agamemnon* is not. The moral is neither made for the age of Aeschylus, nor superinduced by reflexion upon facts which to another mind might have had a merely secular interest. The story itself is a sacerdotal invention, and could not be secularized, except, as by Euripides, with the deliberate purpose of destroying it and turning it into contempt. Schlegel (*Dramatic Literature*, chap. ix.) remarks on Euripides' *Electra*, "I shall say nothing of his abuse of the oracle of Delphi. As it destroys the very basis of the whole drama, I cannot see why Euripides should have written it, except to provide a fortunate marriage for Electra", and so on. The simplicity of hatred, as

of love, surpasses all understanding. We shall see hereafter that Euripides, as well as his reviewer, has furnished an illustration of this truth. But Aeschylus, with profound reverence, took the legend as it was. The whole is contained in the statement, that Apollo by an oracle commanded and compelled a man, whose mother had murdered his father, to inflict with his own hands the punishment of life for life; and that the god himself at his own hearth bestowed the ceremonial purification by which the man-slayer was restored to communion. The 'bare fact' that the heir of Agamemnon returned to Argos and killed both the murderers of his father, had been put into story at the date of the *Odyssey*[1]; but almost everything else in the Aeschylean version has been shaped with the purpose of converting Orestes into a minister of Pytho.

In the first place he had to be brought there. The 'Odyssean' story placed his exile, for some reason not known, at Athens; and from Athens or elsewhere it would have been easy, had this suited the intention, that he should repair to the oracle and consult it on a project of revenge. But this was not enough for the inventors, with whom Apollo, not Orestes, was the centre and mainspring of interest. The command of Apollo is related in the play five times[2]: but neither in these places nor elsewhere are we told that it was given in answer to a question on the subject, or that the purpose of exacting a bloody retribution was originally conceived by Orestes[3]. Nor was it the design to make him an independent 'hero', in the modern sense of the word. On the contrary he dilates upon the tortures, which he was to suffer for disobedience, with all the particularity of one who desires to remember that he has no choice, and though he spurs himself with the 'contributory' motives of affection, poverty, and patriotism, he leaves it plain enough that Apollo, not he, is responsible for the view that the offence of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is inexpiable, and not to be compounded for by anything less than life[4]. To give the initiative to Apollo was the purpose with which Orestes was placed during his exile in the god's own city of Crisa on Parnassus. Here, in the original city of Apollo's priests, the place from which, according to tradition, he had

[1] See *Od.* 1. 30, 1. 298, 3. 193, 3. 304, 4. 545, 11. 461. These references, and other such materials of this section, are mainly taken from my predecessors, especially Conington and Mr Sidgwick.

[2] *vv.* 268, 556, 899, 952, 1027. See also note on *vv.* 37—41, and repeated references in the *Eumenides*.

[3] Contrast Soph. *El.* 32, 171 etc. Here as elsewhere we have to remember the loss of the prologue, but it would be unnecessary to repeat each time that the prologue may be assumed to have agreed with the data of the extant play.

[4] *vv.* 268—304.

founded his worship in the adjoining Delphi, Orestes could receive the divine command without any suspicion of seeking; and to bring him to Crisa is the part played in the story by Strophius[1].

As to the manner in which Strophius became possessed of him we are imperfectly informed. We have in the *Agamemnon* the account which Clytaemnestra gives to her husband[2], and we have a few allusions in the *Choephori*. In the *Agamemnon* the queen, after dwelling upon her anxiety about her absent lord, continues thus:

> This is indeed why the boy Orestes, he who might best make confidence between thee and me, is not, as he should be, here; be not surprised. He is in the special care of our kind ally, Strophius of Phocis, who warned me of double mischief, the peril first of thee before Ilium, and the chance that noisy rebellion from below might risk a plot against us, as it is native to man to spurn the more him that is down. The excuse however is such as cannot have guile in it.

This then is the face which was put on the transaction at the time. But that it was false, we should actually suppose from the emphasis which Clytaemnestra is made to lay upon its truth; and the other allusions prove this suspicion to be correct. This interest of 'our kind ally' in the heir of the Atreidae, if it ever existed, had certainly ceased before his return, and there is much reason to suppose that it never had existed. For if the murderers of Agamemnon had had reason to see in Strophius the zealous protector of their enemy, Orestes and Pylades, desiring to present themselves in an unsuspicious character, would have chosen any pretence sooner than that of a not unfriendly message from Strophius. The message itself also, and the way in which it is supposed to be sent, attribute to Strophius a perfect indifference to his ward. Orestes is dead, and the proper ceremonies have been performed; Strophius, having fallen in with some traders bound for Argos on their own concerns, takes occasion to enquire of Orestes' family, that is to say, of the adulterous pair who had murdered his father and usurped his inheritance, 'whether they will have the urn sent home or not'. And he adds an injunction, not at all unnecessary considering the sort of messenger he has chosen, that the commission should 'on no account be forgotten'. Such are the delicate and sympathetic feelings ascribed to 'our kind ally'. When to this positive evidence about Strophius is added the fact that neither Orestes nor Electra ever speaks of him with expectation or gratitude, or appears to be interested in him at all[3], it is plain that his service must have been ambiguous in motive, if

[1] See on *v.* 681.

[2] *v.* 872.

[3] This is true also of the corresponding plays by Sophocles and Euripides. In the *Orestes* of Euripides (*v.* 765) Strophius is made to disapprove the conduct of

not in fact, and his subsequent attitude at least equivocal. The same is implied in the only passage, except that already cited from the *Agamemnon*, in which the sending of Orestes to Phocis is described. Clytaemnestra is pleading with Orestes for her life[1]:

Cl. Hast thou no respect for a parent's curse, my child?
Or. Not for a mother who cast me into misery.
Cl. I never cast thee away. I sent thee to the house of our ally.
Or. It was a two-fold sale of me, of me, a freeman's child!
Cl. And what then was the price that I am thought to have got?
Or. For shame! Who should know it better than thou?

To us, who have not the story, this brief and allusive account is naturally unintelligible; but it is hard to suppose that the phase διχῶς ἐπράθην, *it was a two-fold sale of me*, following as it does immediately upon a reference to the character of Strophius, can have any meaning, except that the transference of Orestes from Clytaemnestra to him was a bargain *corrupt on both sides*, in which both parties sought their apparent interest; and this is in fact the only supposition consistent with the rest of the story. Beyond this we can but conjecture, but there does not seem to be much room for mistake. The *data* are these: that Clytaemnestra and Strophius between them transferred Orestes from Argos to Phocis, before the return and murder of Agamemnon, and thereby saved his life: that nevertheless the transaction was wholly sordid and selfish, neither proving any kindness nor deserving any gratitude. Now why and when was it the interest of Clytaemnestra, as Orestes implies, for the sake of her relations with Aegisthus, to part with the control of her son? So far as I can see, there is but one possible answer to this question. It never was for the true and ultimate interest either of Aegisthus or the queen; it was a thing to which they never would have consented unless under compulsion. But it was a thing absolutely necessary for their immediate interest, as things stood shortly before the king's return, if at that time some one, who was in a position to act as a friend of the family, threatened to raise a scandal, and demanded the possession of the heir as the price of his quiescence. To the security of the adulterers it was essential that their relations should remain a pretended secret up to the king's death or return. And it was in the power of Strophius, or any

Orestes and Pylades, after the event, in the strongest manner; but this belongs to the treatment of the subject adopted by Euripides, and must not be transferred to Aeschylus. So far as Aeschylus shows, there is no hint that he was concerned at all in the matter, either beforehand or afterwards.

[1] *Cho. vv.* 911—916.

other ostensible friend of Agamemnon, by nothing more than a public protest, to make them either break their intercourse or declare themselves. If any such person chose to make his profit out of the situation, they could not refuse him whatever he asked. The conduct of Strophius on the other hand, if this was what he did, though excessively base is perfectly intelligible. He got what, according to any issue which he could have anticipated, ought to have been a very advantageous position. If the kings, or either of them, came back irresistible, and Clytaemnestra fled, then Strophius was the man who had rescued the heir from danger. Even if both Agamemnon and Menelaus died abroad, still Orestes remained the eventual successor in natural course, and the possessor of his person must be treated with. But, in the incalculable and inconceivable events which happened, Strophius got nothing, except the burden of his charge. After the murder of Agamemnon, so long as Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra lived or their faction prevailed, the only way, in which Strophius could have made any profit out of Orestes, would have been to sell them his life, an act of perilous cruelty very different from the prudent and decorous fraud of which Orestes appears to accuse him. But his service to Orestes was this and nothing more, that having, for his own supposed interest, assumed the charge of him, and finding himself in the issue compelled either to maintain him for nothing or to be his murderer, he preferred to let him grow up in his house, until he was old enough to depart. The mutual indifference of the pair requires no further explanation; and the same supposition accounts for what must have been somehow accounted for in the story, the suicidal act of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, in letting the avenger out of their hands.

It is not to be thought that these speculations can be spared, because the result of them must remain to some extent uncertain. The *Choephori*, like the plays of Aeschylus generally, consists of scenes from a story taken as known. Some indispensable parts of it are represented only by allusions. Others can scarcely be said to be represented at all. The history of Pylades belongs to the second class, and we will speak of it presently; that of Strophius belongs to the first. What is evident is that the author presumes us to be familiar with his conception of both, that as a fact we are not, and that our only way of approaching the play intelligently is by the assumption of some working hypothesis.

With regard to the escape of Orestes the point of chief interest is also that which rests on the broadest evidence, that according to the version of Aeschylus he was not saved purposely, and for his own sake,

by any human deliverer. Had there been any person thus interested in him and entitled to his gratitude, some trace of it must have appeared in the course of a play which describes his return. In this respect there is a marked contrast between Aeschylus and his two successors. In Sophocles and Euripides the child is rescued at the time of the murder by faithful friends, who also play a leading part in his restoration. In Aeschylus he is 'cast away' beforehand by the undesigned effect of a base intrigue. As elements in a romance or in a study of character, the inventions of the two later dramatists would be as much superior as they are more obvious[1]. But the story of Aeschylus is not such; it is a legend of Divine Providence; and for this purpose the Aeschylean method of rescue has an advantage equally manifest. No event, not even one effected by miraculous means, has so much of the providential character, as that which comes to pass by human agency indeed, but without or against the will of the agents. And such in Aeschylus is the saving of Orestes.

We pass to a personage not perhaps more important in the story than Strophius, but nearer to the foreground in the picture of Aeschylus. Nothing in the *Choephori* is more curious, or more significant o the purpose with which the legend was framed, than the part assigned to Pylades. Until the double vengeance is completed by the slaying of Clytaemnestra, Pylades is inseparable from Orestes. He is present at the meeting of Orestes and his sister, he is present even during the litany which is performed at the grave by the children and slaves of Agamemnon. But during all this time not only is he himself without speech or function, but scarcely any notice is taken of him. In arranging with Electra and the others the manner in which the enemy are to be attacked, Orestes just remarks that 'this man, Pylades' will be with him[2]; and accordingly, along with Orestes and the rest of the pretended company of traders, Pylades re-appears, but still without function, speech, or notice. Aegisthus is slain, and Clytaemnestra is at the mercy of her son. He shrinks; he cannot take her life. But Pylades, and Pylades alone, is there, and now his voice is heard[3]:

> What then of Loxias' word, yet unperformed? What of the Pythian oracle? And the faith of oaths, what of it? Think that the enmity of all the world is better than that of heaven.

Orestes obeys; Clytaemnestra is dragged to her death; and Pylades disappears both from the scene and the story.

[1] Pindar (*Pyth.* XI. 25) has a similar version; Orestes is saved at the time of the murder by his nurse Arsinoe.

[2] *v.* 559.

[3] *v.* 899.

There is something singularly impressive in the very simplicity of this conception, this living embodiment of the divine command. It is worth notice, that the compression of the part is in no way due to stage-necessity or limited resources. On the contrary Pylades speaks just at that point in the play, when, with a limited number of actors, it is not very convenient that he should, and is silent through long scenes in which it would have been easy to provide him with a voice. But with Aeschylus Pylades, like Orestes, is simply the servant of Apollo, sent with him lest at any time, lest above all at the last dreadful moment, the arm of flesh should fail. He acts when he does, and only then, because there is no other need for his function. The spirit of the legend could not in any way be more sharply and vigorously expressed.

From another point of view the play of Aeschylus explains, what otherwise we could hardly guess, how and why the person of Pylades was introduced into the narrative. Certainly we could not discover it from Sophocles, in whose admirable drama Pylades, with no part at all, is little more than a piece of the scenery, and but for conventional expectation might apparently have been left out. But the legend, as we find it in Aeschylus, by making Orestes homeless and resourceless, made it also necessary that he should be provided with a helper. He goes (and Aeschylus does not let us forget it) to slay a despot, whose power and person were defended by armed men, and to deliver his country from a tyrannical usurpation. Had he been sent alone, he would have been sent, unless the god designed to work a miracle for him, to certain death, if indeed he had ever arrived in Argos. But Pylades, as Pindar tells us[1], was a man who had 'rich lands' at Cirrha, in the sacred plain between Parnassus and the sea. Pylades therefore had means and men at command, and with him to aid, the journey and enterprise of Orestes were possible. In sharing the peril Pylades, as well as Orestes, acted by command of Apollo, who even dictated the means of attack that they were to use[2]. This is all that Aeschylus tells or suggests, and probably the legend furnished no more.

There is an accidental circumstance, which makes it specially desirable that, in approaching the *Choephori*, we should clear our minds

[1] *Pyth.* XI. 15. Pindar's story of Orestes is in so many respects at variance with that of Aeschylus, that we cannot borrow a trait from him with confidence. But since the only thing that he notices about Pylades is that he was rich, and since this fact precisely fits the purpose for which Pylades is required in the circumstances given by Aeschylus, we may perhaps conclude that it is a common and primitive touch.

[2] *vv.* 556 foll.

on the subject of Pylades. It happens that Euripides, looking among the legends for matter of realistic romance, pitched upon the friendship of Pylades and Orestes as a workable vein, and worked it so excellently after his own fashion, that his gold has been coined into a proverb. Except a page or two in Homer, nothing in ancient literature has made more impression on common thought and language than the 'Pylades' scenes of the *Orestes* and the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which, like the Odes of Horace, are unconsciously cited by thousands, who do not know that they exist. Now speaking for myself, I find it not a little hard to see the figures in imagination without all this brilliant embroidery: which however it is necessary to do, if the treatment of Aeschylus is to seem natural or even intelligible. Not only are the stories of Euripides filled with details, which if admitted in that of Aeschylus, would destroy the foundation[1]; but the Euripidean conception of a mutually devoted pair is irrelevant and inadmissible as a whole. The absence of Pylades in the *Eumenides*, especially in the opening scene, and also—since the silence about him seems otherwise inexplicable—in the *finale* of the *Choephori*, the neglect of his personality and character throughout the story, and the manner in which he drops out of it unnoticed, all imply that Aeschylus saw no such Pylades as it has become, since Euripides, almost impossible not to see: and the *Choephori* is apt to suffer somewhat from our mis-occupied vision. In the primitive legend the importance of Pylades was merely that of a wheel in the mechanism. His help and means made the enterprise of Orestes possible; and he rendered help, because he was a pious man whom Apollo ordered to do it. The way of exhibiting him dramatically, as a remembrancer of the god's injunction, is probably a device of Aeschylus' own, and is worthy of his genius for broad and simple effects. For Aeschylus, Pylades and Orestes are connected by friendship doubtless, but mainly by their joint oath, taken under the sanction of the Pythian deity, that his will should be done. Pylades is to see it done; he is in Greek phrase the *βραβεύς*[2]

[1] For example, in the *Orestes* Pylades is made into a son of Strophius, and in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, to draw the friends into closer connexion, Strophius himself is uncle of Orestes by marriage and Pylades is his cousin. This latter supposition, as we shall see hereafter, would convert one scene of the *Choephori* into nonsense. According to Pindar, who is our only applicable authority, Strophius and Pylades did not even live in the same place. The home of Pylades in the 'rich fields' of Cirrha is distinguished clearly from that of Strophius on the 'foot (spur) of Parnassus', that is to say at Crisa (*Pyth.* XI. 13—17, 35). Neither Pindar nor Aeschylus suggests any connexion between them.

[2] Cf. Eur. *Med.* 274. From a phrase of Euripides (*Or.* 1065 Πυλάδη, σὺ δ' ἡμῶν τοῦ φόνου γενοῦ βραβεύς), it may be guessed that the term, in the above sense,

of Apollo's command; and there his function ends. So long as all is proceeding in due course, he watches in silence. Orestes himself, when arranging the parts of himself and his coadjutors in the approaching deed, seems to speak as if Pylades would be a 'spectator', an expression at which modern readers, with minds full of Euripidean sentiment, have very naturally stumbled[1]. But a 'spectator' he is in Aeschylus, a sentinel of Orestes' virtue, and silent as a sentinel should be. Only at the last, when the emissary flinches, the guardian opens his lips to insist on obedience; and with that his essential part is done. It is a grim conception; but it breathes the very spirit of an enthusiastic missionary corporation, and such in its great days was Pytho.

These are the preliminaries of the drama. When we come to the action, the same religious strain continues to prevail. More than a third part is occupied with the performance of ceremonies to obtain aid from the subterranean powers, especially from the departed spirits of Agamemnon and other Atreidae. We have first in the prologue the offerings of Orestes, then the propitiation attempted by Clytaemnestra, but converted by the act of Electra and her slaves to a contrary office, and lastly, when the recognition has taken place between the brother and sister, a formal litany of the dead, itself nearly one fifth of the whole. No wonder that it is, by common confession, hard for us to enter fully into the spirit of the *Choephori*. In truth it is no more possible, for one who does not believe in Apollo and the religion of Hellas, to feel all that Aeschylus here expects, than for one, who does not really attach importance to the redemption of man, to feel entirely with Milton in *Paradise Lost*. The whispers of impatience, which escape from commentators during the sacred office, are as well justified (but no better) as the murmur of Pope against Milton's *Third Book*. To those of us, who begin to fidget when 'God the Father turns a school divine', Milton would have said sharply, and very justly, that unless the scholastic theology is a true and awful thing, *Paradise Lost* is a mere toy; which if we suppose, we had better put down the book. And Aeschylus would have waved us out of the theatre with a like reproof. Conington[2], speaking of the principal rite, the great invocation of the dead, remarks with truth that

> in the poet's view it is not a suspension of the action, but a part of the action itself. It is not merely an impassioned lyric, awakening successively the various tones of human feeling, but, as we are repeatedly reminded, an actual agent, conducting the

had been actually applied to him. At least this supposition adds a satiric touch to the phrase, which is exactly in Euripides' manner.

[1] *v.* 581.

[2] Introduction to *Choeph.* p. xvii.

inquisition for blood, assembling the succours underground, and bringing on the destined hour which, long fixed, has been awaiting its summons.

It is in short a species of sacrament, the appointed means of entering into communion with the unseen world, efficacious and indispensable. This was to Aeschylus the very truth; and it was to set this forth, not to adorn the story, that his scene was written. But here is the point where such belief as a modern reader can feign *betrays its evil grain* (to borrow a figure from Aeschylus) *under the rub and touch.* We cannot really worship with Orestes and Electra; we cannot help the infidel whisper that 'the action is suspended' and that 'they have prayed enough.' It is not our fault, nor the author's: yet it signifies, what we are bound to acknowledge, that the work is for us but a body, out of which the spirit is departed and can with difficulty be conjured back for a few moments of pale and dubious resuscitation.

From the nature of the rite which Orestes is directed to perform[1], as the means of success, the introduction of Electra, his sister, into the story would arise by natural suggestion. Assistance in the house of the enemy is manifestly important, if not indispensable: and this assistance is brought to him providentially, at the moment of his arrival, in the form of a participator already engaged in the same ritual as himself. To effect this is the work of Clytaemnestra's dream, which, as treated in Aeschylus, is like everything else an essential part of the divinely guided event. In the night before Orestes comes, a vision is sent to Clytaemnestra, intimating danger to her life, and this from her children or one of them, so clearly that it might have been designed for the purpose of exposing Orestes to detection. And indeed it must have done so, but that, by divine foresight, it is so constructed as to bear a second interpretation, less obvious in itself, but more obvious in the actual circumstances, so far as known to Clytaemnestra or her advisers. This second interpretation, put into the mouth of the seers consulted, produces immediately the sending of Electra with offerings to the grave of Agamemnon, and so the union of the brother and sister[2]. In this

[1] That the rite was prescribed by Apollo is expressly stated by Sophocles (*El.* 82) and doubtless assumed as part of the story by Aeschylus, whether it was stated or not, as it may have been in the prologue.

[2] *vv.* 31—41, 521—549. The dream in Sophocles is otherwise designed, and for a different purpose. On the success of Orestes it appears to have no effect, either one way or the other; but by exciting the dubious hopes and fears of Clytaemnestra, Chrysothemis, and Electra, it serves excellently for the exhibition of character. What is required for this is that the portent should be suggestive but radically indecipherable, and it is so. Clytaemnestra sees the ghost of Agamemnon, planting on the hearth the sceptre "borne formerly by him but now by

part of the story, which is highly curious and has not received as much attention as it deserves, all is still calculated for religious effect. As it belongs to the wisdom of Providence, according to the common conception, to attain an end by means of involuntary or unwilling agents, so does it also to attain contrary ends by identical means. The dream of Clytaemnestra is so devised that on the one hand it conveys to Orestes, knowing what he knows, a promise of success scarcely less explicit than words, and yet, instead of warning Clytaemnestra against him, causes her only to play into his hands. This it does by means of its double interpretation, which is vital and must not be ignored. If the prophets of Clytaemnestra had thought of Orestes, he would have been lost; and they must have thought of him, unless by divine forethought another and a nearer signification had been laid in their way.

These are the materials of the First Act, as we may call it (*vv.* 1—582), in which the parties to the attack are brought together, the ritual preliminaries performed, and the plot laid. This part is for its purpose admirably designed, and open, in my judgment, to no valid objection[1]. The difficulty, for a modern mind, of arriving and remaining at the right point of view is only too real; but this is no fault in the object. But in the Second Act (*vv.* 649—934), the execution of the plot, there is one flaw, which is excusable certainly, because for Aeschylus inevitable, but otherwise not to be defended. This is the transparent device by which it is contrived that the stage and its precincts should be kept clear of fighting. It was a constant difficulty with the Greek tragedians that their method of acting excluded scenes of

Aegisthus", and the sceptre grows into a prodigious tree. This signifies plainly *prosperity* to some one; but to whom? The appearance of Agamemnon, and the fact that the sceptre *had been* his, are against Clytaemnestra and favourable to her enemies. On the other hand, since the omen is a happy one, and sent to Clytaemnestra, there is room for the reflexion that the sceptre, to which prosperity is promised, is *now* in the possession of Aegisthus. Of Orestes there is no hint, except of that sort which is visible only after the event. Clytaemnestra therefore, though vaguely alarmed, consoles herself easily with the 'double' aspect (Soph. *El.* 417—425, 644—647). In Aeschylus the portent is *menacing* to Clytaemnestra, directly and in the highest degree; and it all but names Orestes. On this last point only there is just the possibility of error; and into this error Clytaemnestra through her interpreters is divinely guided. Even this possibility would scarcely have been open, had the circumstances in Aeschylus been what they are in Sophocles, whose Electra and Orestes have long been exchanging demands and promises of revenge, as is known or strongly suspected by Clytaemnestra. But all this belongs exclusively to the story of Sophocles.

[1] The highly important subject of the *Recognition* is discussed separately hereafter.

violence and confusion. What artistic compensation there may have been for this disability, we need not now enquire, being concerned only with the other side of the account, in which the *Choephori* appears with a heavy figure. Orestes returns not only as an avenger but also as a political deliverer. Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra are not only murderers but despots, holding down a city-state by the strength of a castle and a force of paid soldiers. It may be that the religious legend in its earliest form did not make much of this, though the administrators of Delphi, during the best part of its career, would have been quite ready with a word against tyrants[1]. But at any rate the spectators of the *Agamemnon* could not forget it, nor does the poet intend that they should[2]. Now although from the preceding play[3] we are prepared to find, and in this play are actually told, that seven or eight years later there has been a complete reaction of feeling, and that the tyranny is now simply a reign of terror, and although, in a society where there is in general no profession of arms, the force, by which such a reign is for a time supported, may be very small, still it must exist and be accounted for. Before Orestes can be saluted as 'the liberator of Argos' there must be either a fight or a treaty; and it is not likely that even the first step, the slaying of the tyrants, will be won without work of another kind than prayers and resolves. Aeschylus knows this well, and does not want to conceal it. At the end of the 'First Act' Orestes goes expressly to "prepare his swords for the fray[4]"; and such a fray the Marathonian maker of the *Seven against Thebes* would have rejoiced to show us, if only he could. But he could not. Nor was it open to him, with the *Agamemnon* preceding and the *Eumenides* in prospect, to take the course of Sophocles, who in his drama, with his habitual soundness of judgment in such matters, masters the difficulty, or turns it at least, by ignoring it, and stopping at the precise moment when it might have become embarrassing.

In the *Electra* of Euripides, such fighting, or show of fighting, as there is, is represented as usual by a descriptive 'report'. And indeed little fighting is wanted, when Orestes never so much as enters the city, and achieves nothing beyond the slaying of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, for which act the Argives, as we learn from the *Orestes*, sentenced him to death. Nay, even he himself heartily repents, to the great satisfaction

[1] Pindar, whose general conception is likely to be faithful to the hieratic idea, seems to regard the enterprise as military, *χρυσῷ ξὺν Ἄρει πέφνε ματέρα κτλ. Pyth.* XI. 36.

[2] See *Cho.* 53—58, 301—303, 430, 862—864, 971 foll., 1044—1045.

[3] See the *finale* of the *Agamemnon*, and particularly *v.* 1522.

[4] *v.* 582.

of Castor and Pollux, who, "if it became them as lower deities to speak their minds, must really say that Apollo's advice..." and so forth. This again is all very well—in a travesty.

But Aeschylus, who must go through with Orestes, and in earnest, to the true end of the enterprise, is at his wits' end, when it comes to the crisis, to know what is to be done with the soldiers. The first thought of Clytaemnestra, when she has brought into her castle a dubious company of strangers, is to send for Aegisthus, and for his guards, whom indeed he would not have been likely to leave behind on such an occasion. And anywhere, except on the classic stage, the troop would have come. The spies of Orestes intercept the messenger, and persuade him, or rather her, to suggest, as from Clytaemnestra, that the soldiers will too much 'alarm' the supposed merchants, whom Aegisthus is to examine; and accordingly they do not appear. But who is this strange *aide-de-camp*, who goes from a queen to a captain of bandits, and is induced by maidservants, with no other explanation than that the captain is a "foul tyrant" and that "God hath his purposes", to change the sense of the orders? It is a poor doting nurse, half crazed with grief, who swaddled and cradled Orestes at his birth, and now comes muttering a broken rambling wail about all the trouble she had with his food and his napkins. Into the sketch of this portrait Aeschylus has put his utmost mastery; and nowhere perhaps, save in Shakespeare or Cervantes, is there anything equal to it of its kind. It appeals irresistibly to that broad, commonplace, human emotion which 'does not know whether to laugh or to cry.' The author trusted that the gem would atone for the setting, which indeed it so far does, that no one could wish it away. He wanted in fact to repeat the device of the *Agamemnon*. There, when the plot reaches a crisis, and there is a necessity—not however of the stage, but inherent in the story, and this is a material difference—that the scene should pass as it might indeed, but ninety times in a hundred would not, the attention of the audience is admirably amused with a silhouette from the vulgar, grotesque and pathetic, which in style has much resemblance to that of our nurse[1]. But here the trick is too visible. The nurse, as a nurse, is admirable; but as a person sent by Clytaemnestra, on an anxious day and at a moment of suspicion, to summon Aegisthus and his soldiers, she is, to speak plainly, out of her place. We cannot help seeing that an unsuitable and untrustworthy messenger is chosen simply because, for

[1] See the herald's story *Ag.* 556 foll. There is something of a like contrivance in the similar figure of the watchman (*Agamemnon, Prologue*).

stage-reasons, it is necessary that the message should miscarry: and it must be added, that even so the miscarriage is not attained without straining a point in the way of probability. What may be said for Aeschylus is that with his means it was here impossible to go straight, and that not one man in a million would have come off so well.

When the critical minutes are once passed and the tyrants slain, there is no more difficulty about their soldiers. Between the Second Act and the Finale, there is ample time for the mercenaries to disappear. They may capitulate, fly the country, submit to Orestes, fight to the death, be torn in pieces by the populace, as the legend related, or as we choose to suppose. And since they are for themselves of no interest to us or the author, we naturally hear no more of them.

In the two last scenes therefore, the death of Clytaemnestra and the Final Act, all is again clear and magnificent. The *Finale*, in which Orestes' public address of self-justification and farewell is interrupted by spasms of the invading madness or visitation of the Furies, "gives scope to one of the poet's most peculiar powers, the power namely of effectively suggesting the presence or approach of some unseen or terrible thing[1]". This is indeed the part of the play which lies nearest to modern comprehension. We do not, it is true, believe in the Furies any more than in the incantation of the dead or the worship of ancestors. But the horror which follows a fearful deed, even when done from the highest motives, and the disorder of a mind strained beyond human endurance, are simple facts of moral and physical experience, which move us easily even when presented in alien forms or figures.

It is a most interesting historical question, but not to be answered completely with the existing materials, what were the feelings by which this strange and impressive legend was originally inspired. Part of the moral, and a large part no doubt, is that which is drawn by Pylades, that "God is an enemy more to be feared than all the world". Obedience to the deity of Pytho, obedience unto death or worse than death, is the first lesson both of the legend and of its presentation by Aeschylus. He proposed in the *Eumenides* to preach to Athens the necessity that human society, into whatever developments it might pass, should have somewhere in it "a salutary fear"; and he preludes to this exhortation by a chapter from scripture, not yet deprived of authority, which strained the doctrine of religious fear and its ultimate reward to the highest possible point. But the end is not seen in the piece now before us; in fact the legendary end is probably not to be found in Aeschylus at all, having been somewhat modified for his own particular purposes. We

[1] Sidgwick, *Introduction.*

shall find a more convenient opportunity in the sequel for considering why the makers of the legend, in illustrating the duty of doing whatever Apollo commanded, chose for the illustrative case that of a man commanded to slay his mother in revenge for the murder of his father.

Concerning the literary development of the story little is known, and that little not very significant. The references to the subject in the *Odyssey* have been mentioned above. They exhibit a conception of the events differing from that of Aeschylus not merely in detail but fundamentally. For the epic poet the vengeance of Orestes is a famous exploit, distinguished only by gallantry from the common course of affairs: and the death of his mother is treated as 'an unimportant detail'. Nothing is said of a divine command before the deed, or of divine protection after it: and the moral lies merely in the perversity and folly of the victims. In short the religious basis, without which there is nothing but an ordinary tale of adventure, has still to be laid. This was done, and everything essential was done, by the prophet or prophets who, having risen to a perception of the elementary principle in personal religion, that the true unattainable object of man is to do right, conceived the sublime idea of illustrating this principle by the case of one divinely commanded to slay a wicked parent, tortured by powers divine for the unnatural act, and at last by divine protection restored to peace. When or by what stages these notions were introduced into the story of Orestes, the evidence does not show; one thing only is plain, that the work was performed under inspiration from Delphi. It is perhaps the strongest proof now extant of the services rendered to Hellas, and so to humanity, by the religion of Apollo. In the lyric *Orestea* of Stesichorus, which may be placed a century or something more before the trilogy of Aeschylus[1], the legend seems to have been essentially complete. Above this date we have little more than a name or two (Xanthus, Agias of Troezen); but there can be little doubt that the decisive step of centering the story upon Mount Parnassus was taken long before Stesichorus; and probably, if we had all the literary and poetical versions that ever existed, the origin would still be lost in the untraceable antiquities of Pythian teaching and tradition.

On the other hand, for the purpose of showing upon what version Aeschylus depended, as elucidating to the audience those parts of the story which he tells only by way of allusion, our series is as much

[1] A compendious statement of the little that is known or guessed concerning the predecessors of Aeschylus will be found in Mr Sidgwick's Introduction to the *Choephori*. It cannot be said to contribute anything to the comprehension of the play, which is not derivable from the play itself.

defective at the lower end as for the history of religion it is at the higher. Between Stesichorus and Aeschylus we have only the allusion of Pindar already mentioned, which, except that it rests on the common Pythian foundation, disagrees with Aeschylus in almost every detail given, and moreover occurs in a poem not at all likely to have been well known or appreciated in Athens. But it would be gratuitous and unreasonable to suppose that the subject had not been treated, and treated in Athens itself, during the full century which separates the *Orestea* of Aeschylus from that of Stesichorus. Of what was really important to Aeschylus at the moment, the conception of the story then generally prevalent in his own city, we have no extraneous information at all. And it must be remembered, that the significance of particular writings, as matter of commentary upon other writings, is not measurable by their independent value or permanent place in literature. Among the books which served Shakespeare, and even in his case are sometimes indispensable to a full comprehension of his text, were several which, except in this connexion, are now hardly ever mentioned, and probably some of which all vestige has disappeared. How many of us, reading *Mansfield Park* for the first time, have found ourselves equipped with a perfectly adequate notion of *Lovers' Vows*? The conception of the Jewish Kingdom given in the Old Testament is not only more true, but for almost every purpose far more important, than that which pervaded the Whig and Tory sermons of the seventeenth century. But without some notion of the sermons *Absalom and Achitophel* is scarcely comprehensible, while a vivid recollection of *Kings* and *Chronicles* will embarrass the reader of Dryden more than it will assist him. That which, as students of Aeschylus, we should like to possess, but do not, is a collection of the writings relevant to his themes, which had vogue in Athens during the times of Cleisthenes and Themistocles. Fortunately however his dramas, though they do not pretend to state all the data explicitly, do in the main, if carefully considered, suggest them: so that we may hope at least not to miss the principal lines.

In the version attributed to Stesichorus, which was probably as important as any in the development of details, there is one trait specially noticeable. There, as in Aeschylus, Clytaemnestra had a warning dream. She saw a snake with blood upon his head, which turned into the figure of Agamemnon. We have here expressly that identification of the snake with the dead, which, as will be shown in the commentary, is of great, though secondary, significance in the *Choephori*.

The Time and Divisions of the Action.

The action of the *Choephori* occupies almost exactly that 'revolution of the sun' to which, according to Aristotle, tragedy endeavoured as far as possible to confine itself. It is divided into three Acts, I. (*vv.* 1—582): *The Arrival of Orestes, the preparatory ceremonies, and the laying of the plot.* II. (*vv.* 649—934): *The slaying of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra.* III. (*vv.* 971—the end): *The solemn public appearance and farewell of Orestes; his madness, and departure for Delphi.* The Second Act is subdivided (at *v.* 714) into two scenes, (i) the admission of Orestes and his company at the castle-gate, and (ii) the murders. The First Act takes place in the early morning; the Second at night-fall (to which hour the execution of the plot, from its nature, is necessarily postponed[1], and which gives it the advantages of darkness); and the Third, which follows the liberation of the city, on the next day[2]. Within these divisions the action is continuous and the choric performers take their share, which is important, in the conduct of the plot. In the First Act is included, besides other considerable lyric portions, the most complicated piece of strophic art now extant, the invocation of the dead.

The first break in the action is marked by an ode (*vv.* 583—648), in which the subject of passion and crime in women is illustrated by examples from legend. In form and style it is carefully distinguished from the drama proper, to which it bears the same relation as a modern 'drop-scene' painted specially for the piece. A careful examination of the text points to the conclusion that this important break is further emphasized by a short interval in which the scene is empty[3].

In Act II. sc. i. there are no lyrics, and the original Chorus of Maidservants do not appear to be present. The brief interval, about ten minutes of imaginary time, between this scene and the next, is marked by the retirement of all the performers, and also perhaps (see hereafter) by some simple change of scenery, but not by anything in the nature of an *entr'acte.*

In Act II. sc. ii. there are three lyrical portions, the Maidservants being at three points for a time alone upon the scene. All three however are thoroughly dramatic in form and style, so that the action is

[1] See *v.* 656.

[2] See notes on the *finale*, especially on *vv.* 971—983.

[3] See notes at *vv.* 582, 648, 714.

practically uninterrupted. Two are brief passages in anapaests (*vv.* 715—725, 854—867); the third, during which takes place the summoning of Aegisthus (*vv.* 779—836), is a piece, of which the metrical structure is a problem at present unsolved and not likely to be solved with certainty. In considering the question, it must not be overlooked that in its relation to the drama this piece is widely different from such a piece, for example, as the ode on the passions of women. It is obvious that a modern dramatist would drop the curtain at *v.* 582, and would not drop it at *v.* 778. We have no reason therefore to be surprised if, as seems to be the case, the structure is a compromise between the irregularity belonging to natural action and the strict regularity proper to performances choric but not dramatic. There are brief *strophae* and *antistrophae* in the piece; but between them are passages, and after them a long passage, of free rhythmical recitative. It is likely that, in the evolution of drama from the lyric chorus, many such experiments were made, before it was clearly and finally seen, that the two types are essentially irreconcilable[1]. In fact, as soon as this had been perceived, the chorus began to wither, and before long died a natural death.

The next and last break in the action, between Acts II. and III., is of extreme importance to the dramatic effect, as there is not only a considerable lapse of time, but such a violent rupture and contrast of emotions, that continuity, even of performance, would be almost intolerable. As is shown in the notes[2], Aeschylus seems to have done the best that he could with a situation, which transcends the resources of the ancient theatre. The interval of time is signified by an empty scene, and symbolised by a song of triumph (*vv.* 934—970), which, so far as can be judged in the ruinous condition of the latter part, appears to have been strictly strophic.

Scenes and Performers.

With regard to the scene of an Aeschylean play we have to keep in view two distinct questions: (1) What picture of the place or places is suggested to the mind, and how would the author have described them,

[1] The *Parodos* of the *Seven against Thebes* (*vv.* 79 foll.), in which the metre appears to settle gradually, if the expression may be allowed, into strophic regularity, is a somewhat similar case.

[2] See at *vv.* 871, 933.

if he had been composing a narrative, free from theatrical restriction?, and (2) What were the actual arrangements of the scene? The *Eumenides* shows, and the *Choephori* scarcely less, that Aeschylus to the last had not resigned himself to that unfortunate necessity of the ancient theatre, which the critics of the Renaissance erected into a rule under the name of the 'Unity of Place'. About his decorations we are, as Conington reminds us, scarcely entitled to speak; but the imaginary scene he certainly changed without scruple.

As to the imaginary scene, or rather scenes, of the *Choephori* there is no difficulty. The action passes at and in the neighbourhood of the fortress of the Atreidae[1]. The First Act takes place at the grave of Agamemnon. The whole proceedings suggest and require, that this should be placed *in imagination*, as it is placed by Sophocles, at some distance from the castle, or so that what passes around it shall not be exposed to the hearing or observation of the inmates[2]. Indeed the murderers, who buried their victim without rites, would not have been likely to put the grave at their own gates. Euripides, for the purpose of his plot, removes it to the extremity of the country; but for Aeschylus it is enough that it should be in a quiet and neglected place. It is of course supposed to be a mere 'mound' without any mark or decoration whatever.

The rest of the play takes place at the castle itself. The citadel is evidently imagined, as in the *Agamemnon*, to be very large and magnificent, as well as strongly fortified. Within the precinct are various buildings; in one part live the queen and her personal attendants; another part, with separate buildings for the two sexes, is used for the entertainment of strangers; and Aegisthus again has a residence of his own. A troop of soldiers also is quartered there, naturally in such a position as to be at the command of Aegisthus.

Act II. sc. i., as we have called it, takes place before the outer gate, carefully distinguished as "the gate of the wall" or "precinct[3]". Act II.

[1] I have said in the Introduction to the *Agamemnon* (p. xxxviii.) that this is placed by Aeschylus on the site of the historic city of Argos. It was pointed out to me by Mr J. A. Platt that there is no proof of this. The absence of the name *Mycenae* only proves that Aeschylus did not think of that place in particular; the use of the name *Argos*, which signifies primarily the whole state, the Argolid, proves nothing about the site of the fortress, respecting which it is likely that Aeschylus had not troubled himself to form any idea more precise, than that it lay in the plain and not very far from the mountains or from the sea. This is all that the plot of the *Agamemnon* requires.

[2] See particularly *vv.* 263—267, which are alone sufficient to show that the grave, however represented on the stage, is not supposed to be really at the castle-gate.

[3] ἕρκεια πύλαι, *vv.* 559, 569, 649.

sc. ii. takes place within the wall, in an open space, from which are seen the residence of Clytaemnestra and part of the buildings for the reception of travellers.

The *Finale* passes within the castle, but in the open air (*vv.* 984—1057), probably therefore in the same place as II. ii., but this does not need to be determined.

For the purposes of the reader therefore all is simple. But when we pass to the question, how far and by what arrangements the scenes were suggested to the eye, the only safe answer is, that we do not know. It is certain that there was nothing resembling the decoration, which in our theatres would be thought appropriate or necessary: and it would be easy, with an audience sufficiently accustomed to make-believe, to perform the piece without any shifting, and with no addition to the simple back-ground of 'three doors' (which is described as normal in the Greek theatre) except an object in front representing the grave. That the same area, or different parts of the same area, should be taken successively, without change of decoration, for places really distinct or even distant, cannot be thought strange, as an expedient of necessity, when it is remembered that French critics of the greatest ability—Voltaire himself, so blind is the spirit of faction—seriously defended such an arrangement, combining two or three typical places in one scene, as the ideal form for a permanent stage, and the only quite satisfactory way of 'preserving the unity'. And there is one slight circumstance, from which it might be argued that such was actually the case, the apostrophe addressed to the grave at the moment (*v.* 718) when the assailants are first lodged within the castle. Such an invocation does not suggest that the speakers can see the object, nor require that it should then be visible to the audience. But a certain effect is gained, if it was then visible: and there is just this much in favour of supposing that the decoration is the same throughout. On the other hand Conington[1] is prudent in declining to base an absolute generalization about Greek scenery upon the conflicting and fragmentary statements of the extant authorities: and there is no proof, or anything approaching to proof, that the *Choephori* was not first performed, as it would be now, with two changes (at least) of the decoration. Opportunity for change is afforded, by the absence of the performers, at all the points where it could be wanted.

One small conjecture may be worth suggestion respecting the theatrical representation of the grave. We know from vases and other works of art that Greek artists were accustomed to use the snake, as a conventional symbol of the dead, to make such an object

[1] Introduction, p. xxiii.

recognizable. This device, as the notes will show[1], would be peculiarly appropriate and serviceable in the *Choephori*; and we may therefore guess that it was not forgotten.

Two (speaking) actors are employed in every scene, and three (at least) in the scene of the murders. If only three were employed[2], the parts of the manservant (*v.* 874) and Pylades (*v.* 899) must have been somewhat inconveniently 'doubled', as the ancient commentary observes, by the same performer. There is no other evidence as to the distribution.

Of mute persons or 'supers' there are none (except Pylades) in the first act, but the second requires many (pretended 'merchants' travelling with Orestes, suite of Clytaemnestra, etc.), and in the *Finale* it would be natural to introduce still more. As many as might be convenient could be supplied from such a company as is requisite for the other two parts of the trilogy.

Both in the *Agamemnon* and in the *Eumenides* there is, besides mere 'supers', a secondary Chorus. In the *Choephori* this is not so manifestly required. But *a priori* it is probable that such a dramatist as Aeschylus, of whose practice the one thing we are told is that he loved to display his properties, having got his second Chorus in hand, would not leave it behind the scenes for the whole of the middle play: and I think it sufficiently clear that he did not. The Second Chorus, not the First, sing the *entr'acte* between Acts I. and II., and are afterwards absorbed into the train of Orestes[3]. In the *Finale* there are present on the scene certain 'enquirers', citizens of Argos, one of whom (at least), represented probably by an ordinary 'actor', has a spoken part. And it would be a very great advantage in aiding the turn of the play most difficult for the ancient theatre, if these citizens performed, or joined in performing, the hymn of triumph which separates the *Finale* from the preceding scene. It would be easy to introduce them, for the primary Chorus of slave-women has been withdrawn, judiciously and almost necessarily, from the scene, and in any case has to re-enter. The break here[4] is so violent and emphatic, that any change of circumstance would be welcome to aid the substitute, admirable in itself but sadly inadequate as mechanism, which Aeschylus had to use for a curtain.

On the questions now so hotly debated as to the form, dimensions,

[1] See especially on *vv.* 37—41, 925—927.

[2] Mr P. Richter, in his interesting book *Zur Dramaturgie des Aeschylus*, throws over the tradition on this point. So far as I see there is nothing to determine the question one way or the other.

[3] See notes at *vv.* 649, 714.

[4] At *v.* 933.

or existence of the 'stage' as distinct from the 'orchestra', the play affords no conclusive evidence. All that can be said is that, as in the *Agamemnon*, no notice is taken of the division or difference of level, if such there was, between one portion of the area and another, and that in some parts, especially the *Finale*, the inconvenience of the 'Vitruvian' stage would be as great as can well be imagined.

The Recognition[1].

"*Electra.* And what, old man, hath brought this moisture to thine eyes? Is it for me, for some recurring thought of my woes? Or sighest thou for Orestes, unhappy exile, and for my father, whom long ago thine arms carried and nursed, little for good to thee or any whom thou lovest?

Old Slave. Little indeed! No, this it was, which all my patience could not brook. On the way here I took occasion to visit my lord's tomb; and finding myself alone, I fell on it, and wept, and opening the bottle which I was bringing for your guests I gave a libation of wine, and a garland of myrtle. And then, right at the place of burning, I saw a black sheep that had been offered, blood lately spilled, and cuttings of auburn hair: and I wondered, my daughter, who could have dared to visit the grave. No one of Argos would. May-be the secret visitor was your brother, returned and paying his respect to the place where his poor father lies. Put the hair to yours, and see whether the colour of the piece cut will prove the same. It is common, with those that have the same father's blood, that in most points their persons should be alike.

Electra. This is beneath the wisdom, sir, of thine age, to think that for fear of Aegisthus my gallant brother would enter the land by stealth! And as for our hairs, how *should* they match? His a man's, grown in brave exercises, mine a woman's, combed and soft,—impossible! Locks 'of one feather', sir, may be often found in persons not of the same blood.

Slave. Nay, but go and put your foot in the shoe-marks, dear child; and see whether you will find them of the same measure.

[1] See Eur. *Electra*, *v.* 503.

Electra. But in a hard ground how could the earth take prints of the feet? And if there are such prints, a brother and a sister will not have equal feet: the man's is the larger.

Slave. Is there not, *supposing* it *was* in fact your brother returned[1], a piece from your loom by which you could recognize him—that wrapping in which he was shawled, when I stole him from death?

Electra. Dost thou not know that, when Orestes was sent away hence, I was too young for a loom? And if I had one, how should he, who was then a boy, have the same stuff now, unless the clothes grew with the body?—No, the hair must have[2] come from some traveller, who knew thy lord[3] and pitied his grave, or may-be a soldier, spying the country[4].

Slave. And *the* travellers, where are they? I should like to see them and to...have their account of your brother from themselves.

Electra. Here they are, coming from the house,...running indeed! (*Enter Orestes and Pylades hastily: on seeing Electra and the slave they pause.*)

Slave (*to himself*). They are of noble breed; but that is no sure mark; for many, that are of such breed, are base. Howsoever... (*addressing them*) my salutation to our visitors!

Orestes. And mine to you, aged sir! (*turning from him*) Lady Electra, who of your acquaintance owns this ancient relic of a man? (*The slave moves so as to keep Orestes in view; Orestes moves again, and so on.*)

Electra. This, sir, is the man who had the rearing of my father.

Orestes. What, what? This he, who effected your brother's escape!

Electra. Yes, the saviour of Orestes, if any Orestes still there be. (*The slave comes close and examines his face.*)

Orestes. Eh, what is this? Why does he peer at me as close as at a bit of silver with a mint-new stamp? Can he see any likeness in me?

Electra. May-be he finds a pleasure in looking at a comrade of Orestes.

Orestes. And one that loves him too! (*The slave starts back, and begins dancing wildly.*) But why this capering?

Electra. This, sir, astonishes me as well as you.

[1] *i.e.* 'that *the person who made the offerings* was' etc., reading *εἰ καὶ γ' ἦν κασίγνητος μολών*, for *εἰ καὶ γῆν*.

[2] Reading *τῆσδ' ἂν* (as the metre requires) for *τῆσδε*.

[3] *αὐτοῦ, ipsius*, here means *τοῦ δεσπότου*, a slave usage: *ξένος* as well as *τάφων* is related to it.

[4] For Orestes, and therefore naturally interested in the grave.

Slave. Give thanks, my lady, thanks, daughter Electra, to heaven!

Electra. For what in the world that is, or that is not?

Slave. For the boon of a treasure, divinely revealed.

Electra (*taking the bottle, which he still holds unconsciously in his outstretched hand*) Well then, 'Thank God for it[1]!'—What else can you mean?

Slave (*pointing to Orestes*). Then look at *this*, the dearest treasure of all!

Electra. I have been some while afraid, that *thou* hast ceased to be sane.

Slave. Not sane, when *I* can see thy brother!

Electra. How, how sayest thou, old man? What unimaginable thing...?

Slave. That here I see Orestes, Agamemnon's son.

Electra. And what mark hast thou seen on him, that I should believe?

Slave. The scar of a wound at his brow, got from a fall at thy father's long ago, as he ran with thee after a fawn.

Electra. Sayest thou so?...I see the sign of a fall, but...

Slave. But yet wilt not fall thyself into his dear arms!

Electra. No, no, I yield....Thy proof has convinced my heart... O my despairing hope!...My brother at last! (*Embraces*)."

Such, in plain substance stripped of its lightly flowing versification, is the famous scene of *The Recognition*, as it appears in Euripides' tragi-comedy *Electra*, a passage which in the classical studies of the present century has produced an extraordinary commotion, and about which many scholars have written as bitterly—some, it must be added, with as little scruple—as if it had been a lampoon upon their favourite politician. This excitement is specially an affair of the last two generations. The earlier commentators, occupied mainly with the preliminary difficulties of language, do not, as a rule, go far into questions beyond; and when they touch on the literary problem presented in this scene, they treat it, if not profoundly nor altogether impartially, yet with a

[1] *i.e.* for the 'divine revelation' of wine. The slave has described the old wine which he brings with him (*v.* 497) as παλαιὸν θησαύρισμα Διονύσου. Electra therefore, seeing no other possible meaning in φίλον θησαυρὸν ὃν φαίνει θεός, applies it to the bottle, as containing the precious 'invention' or 'revelation' of Dionysus. The explanation has escaped notice.

certain judicial indifference. But A. W. Schlegel, whose *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* have had a wide influence, and in many respects deserved it, approaches the subject in a temper of wrath and contempt, which excludes *a priori* the idea of balance or examination, and did in fact prevent him, as we shall find, from seeing or remembering the elements of the case. Donaldson, whose *Theatre of the Greeks* was long dominant and is still in use, found the tone of Schlegel so congenial, that he actually printed a translation of the well-known Lecture IX., as an appendix to his own work. And even quite recently, writers, who owe no obedience to Schlegel or to Donaldson, betray in their handling of this topic that the old passion is not extinct. But neither passion nor haste is of any use. There is a question to be answered, a problem to be solved, of the highest importance to all students either of Aeschylus or of Euripides. It is difficult, it is now very difficult, to find a solution; and the answer is certainly not to be found by invective.

We should be taken far beyond the proper limits of this essay if we went into the causes of the anger which animated Schlegel. His chapter and his whole book are the highest or at least the strongest expression of that Teutonic spirit, which has had the lead in the classical Renascence of the now expiring age. His reason for giving two chapters to the depreciation of Euripides is fundamentally the same as his reason for giving one chapter (in a history of dramatic art and literature) to an attack on the character of the French. To admire and to understand Aeschylus is so natural to the Teutonic mind, that never since his own contemporaries died has he been so well and so justly estimated as by the Germanizing Hellenists of this century. To admire and to understand Euripides would and perhaps will be equally easy to Gallicizing Hellenists. But between Euripides and us there is a great gulf. We and our cousins have produced hardly anything like him, and should be more than half ashamed of ourselves, if we did. We care but little for the play of the intelligence; and we care very much for things with which the most free and subtle play of the intelligence is, for limited humanity, not compatible. But Euripides cared for this one thing always, and for nothing so much; and French writers innumerable, all French writers so far as they are characteristically French, are at one with him on this essential point.

Now it was the main object of Schlegel, as appears in his preface, to show that in literature at least no one need bow down to France. Instinctively therefore and logically he fell upon Euripides with all his strength. Not that Euripides and Racine (for example) are individu-

ally much alike, for they are very much unlike; but both appeal to the same faculty, a faculty for which we have borrowed a name from France, and call it *esprit*. We might have borrowed a name from the Athens of Euripides, and have called the faculty *sophia*. It is not a faculty natural to the Teutonic races, and we are not indisposed to depreciate it. Since the days of Schlegel we have on the whole had our way; we have had it, to a large extent, even in France. But the conditions are nevertheless much altered. Few of us indeed, in this country at least, admire or enjoy Racine as much as we might; but most of us perhaps are more or less aware that this is our own fault or our own misfortune, and that no one, who does enjoy him, is at all concerned to notice our observations. And though, as between Aeschylus and Euripides, it is not possible for us to be naturally impartial, we are aware that as critics it is our duty to be so; and there are many signs to show[1] that at the present day this effort will be made more willingly than it was made eighty or forty years since. It may perhaps be found to bring an immediate and an unexpected reward for our virtue. Because the excellencies of Aeschylus and Euripides are; as they truly are, discordant and incompatible, it does not follow that to detract from one is to serve the other. It may be that wisdom, the greater *sophia*, is in some sense justified of both her children. But that remains to be seen.

If any one, without previous knowledge of history, were to read the scene of Euripides, which has been cited above, and were then informed that it had been the subject of angry diatribes, his first impulse would probably be to wonder where can have been the provocation, or what there is in it, which calls for special remark. The situation is simple, the picture clear. According to Euripides, Orestes, who was still in Argos at the time of his father's death, was saved from Aegisthus and conveyed to Phocis by the slave who had had the charge of Agamemnon himself when a child. As the slave returned to Argos and lived there undisturbed, we must suppose, and it is also directly intimated (*v.* 28), that the escape was effected with the assistance of Clytaemnestra. Both Orestes and Electra were then children, presumably between ten and twelve years old, and Electra was the younger (*vv.* 15, 284). When many years afterwards Orestes, who in the meantime has had no communication with Electra, returns by Apollo's command, with his faithful Pylades for sole companion, to avenge his father, the brother and sister, as might naturally be expected, do not know each other;

[1] Special notice is here due to the fine work of Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf on the *Heracles* of Euripides.

but the recognition, which is the first object of Orestes, is effected without any difficulty through the slave, who naturally does remember the boy who had been in his charge. Since the slave has always enjoyed the confidence of Electra, the proof is not only simple, but would, for the purpose of dramatic interest, be much too simple, if care had not been taken to put some slight and temporary obstacles between the parties. For this reason it is among other things provided, that at the moment when the recognition takes place Electra shall be accidentally indisposed to put faith in her servant's testimony. It is natural that a very old man, whose mind has for years been set upon one hope, should be excited to the degree of extravagance by a glimpse of realization. Things are so arranged that in this mood the slave exposes himself to the observation of his mistress just before he is presented to Orestes; and in this way, as well as by other conspiring circumstances which will be noticed more conveniently hereafter, is secured the desirable check between his declaration and the conviction of Electra.

It may be asserted with confidence that, if the scene had come down to us without comment or extraneous illustration, no other motive would have been sought for it but the dramatic motive apparent. The language, with the exception of one single word, is as free from suspicion as the structure. That word indeed, for a very alert and positive critic, might be enough. In discussing the resemblance of hair, Electra uses, for *like*, the fanciful expression ὁμόπτερος, *of like feather*. The slave, whom she is criticizing, has not used the word or any like it. As involving a needless and merely decorative metaphor, it is alien from the Euripidean style, and jars perceptibly with the tone of the dialogue. The very alert and positive critic might perhaps have convinced himself, that Euripides could not have used this word without a purpose. How many besides himself he would have convinced by this evidence, we may perhaps imagine; but to the incredulous he could have offered no more. To the student of Euripides this fact is highly significant, when it is remembered that to us the mass of the poet's work has actually come with no better apparatus of explanation, than the *Electra* easily might have had, if we had happened to lose the *Choephori*. And even for our present purpose it will be worth notice, that the scene, as a part of Euripides' play, is independent of that critical purpose which, as we happen to know, may be found in it. If the *Choephori* had never existed, a scene essentially similar would have been suggested by the dramatic requirements of the situation as conceived by Euripides, a situation in itself so simple, that to suppose

it invented expressly in order to make a place for the scene would be forced and wholly gratuitous.

However the *Choephori* is before us: and we find, not only that the alien ὁμόπτερος is borrowed from Aeschylus[1], in whose style it is natural, not only that a verse of Euripides, in itself unnoticeable, is in fact an echo from Aeschylus[2], but that the three objects which the slave suggests as likely, if Orestes should return, to convince his sister of his identity, that is to say, his hair, his foot-prints, and a piece of her work which he may be supposed to possess, are the very three from which, and from which alone, she actually appears to infer his identity in the *Choephori*. Manifestly therefore the contempt expressed by the Euripidean Electra implies a judgment, on the part of her creator, that the proofs in the *Choephori* are inadequate, and that to a ridiculous and offensive degree. We have to consider, as critics of Aeschylus, whether this judgment is well founded, and what defence, if any, can be made for him.

Before we go further, there is one aspect of the matter which, unless our object is merely polemical, we shall resolutely put out of sight. Whether Euripides deserves censure as an artist, and to what extent, for using drama as a vehicle of criticism, is for us altogether irrelevant. We are concerned with him not as an artist, but only as a critic, and are bound to take his judgment exactly as if it had been expressed in a treatise. In one respect only the form may be significant to us. If we attach a personal importance to the opinion of Euripides on a literary question merely because it was his (and it may seem to concern our modesty that we should), then it is something, that by the form in which his opinion is conveyed we are assured of his confident conviction and good faith. That the proofs which he puts in the mouth of the slave should be manifestly and indisputably futile is essential to the success of his scene. Any doubt on this point must have spoiled the scene in performance for hundreds of people, who would neither know nor care whether the proofs were those of the *Choephori*. Thus Euripides has pledged his own work for the correctness of his opinion, that the proofs could not appear convincing to any one in his senses. He assumes indeed that they appeared convincing to Aeschylus; but this he explains by a supposition which, whether likely or not, is more complimentary to the elder poet than some which have been advanced by modern apologists.

[1] *Cho.* 173.

[2] *Cho.* 229 σκέψαι τομὴν προσθεῖσα βόστρυχον τριχός. *El.* 520 σκέψαι δὲ χαίτην προστιθεῖσα σὴ κόμῃ.

The error or negligence of Aeschylus might be excused, he thinks, by the lassitude of old age. When the *Orestea* was written, Aeschylus was old, and if we may judge from a passage in the *Agamemnon*[1] about the poet's art and the poet's decline, was feeling the burden of years. That passage implies indeed that he did not feel any failing in literary power; but it is no unreasonable or unkind suggestion that mere weariness might affect him more than he was aware; and this suggestion Euripides makes, by putting the inventions contemned into the mouth of one who complains bitterly of his decrepitude, and by putting into the mouth of the critic the fear that the old man's faculties 'are no longer' what they were. All these circumstances however are extraneous to the subject of our investigation, which may here be finally detached from the motives and speculations of Euripides, and presented thus:—Is it a defect in the *Choephori*, as a work of imagination, if the proofs of Orestes' identity are not reasonably adequate? Are those proofs of identity reasonably adequate, which are suggested by the Euripidean slave? If not, how is Aeschylus to be defended from censure for having rested conviction upon them?

First then, is it of importance to the effect of the *Choephori*, as a story, whether the proofs are adequate or not? That is a question which can be answered only by considering what the particular story is, and what part the alleged proofs play in it. It would be absurd to lay down, as a general rule of criticism, either that the evidence by which an imaginary personage is convinced must always be adequate, or that it never need be. In this as in other things the imagination, within wide limits, gives the law to itself; and the measure of proof requirable is proportioned not to the necessities of real life, but simply to that expectation which the author chooses to raise. How little the question depends on the facts of real experience may be easily seen by putting cases. Suppose for example that in the *Choephori* Orestes, from his striking resemblance to his father, had been recognized, immediately on his appearance, by two or three old slave-women among the chorus. Or suppose again, that he had simply claimed to be recognized by his sister, and she, after a moment's hesitation, had declared that her memory confirmed his claim. Judged by reality, these two methods of recognition would be at opposite poles of likelihood. The first, which is in substance identical with the way of Euripides, would have been perfectly natural; the second, by a careful collection of passages from the trilogy, might have been shown to be practically impossible. But for the purpose of a story, for the demands of the imagination,

[1] *vv.* 104 foll.

either way would be equally good and sufficient; and assuredly neither of them would have provoked the criticism of Euripides, or of any one deserving an answer. Or take again not an imaginary version of the incident, but the version actually adopted by Sophocles. No reader complains of it, and no reasonable reader will. Let us see why not.

Between the stories of Orestes related by the three tragedians there is a general resemblance, but nevertheless a profound difference, not merely in the treatment but in the basis of fact. In the story of Sophocles there are several circumstances, probably of his own invention and certainly contrived with care, of which the total result is this, that the recognition of Orestes by Electra depends upon Orestes' pleasure as to the time when it shall occur, and is, when it does occur, of no importance at all to the mere mechanism of the plot. According to Sophocles, Electra was by several years the senior. She had been as it were a mother to Orestes. It was by her that he was saved from his father's murderers and put into the hands of the old servant, who carried him to Phocis and returns with him on his mission of vengeance. And above all, *she has been in frequent communication with him during his exile*, stimulating him to revenge and demanding for some time past the tardy fulfilment of his promises[1]. In this state of things it is evident that, if it were any part of Orestes' plan to make himself known to his sister (which in Sophocles it is not), he could do so at once. The mere correspondence between them itself would furnish the means. The trusted servant, though altered so far as to escape recognition while he chooses, could presumably awaken her memory, if he chose. And her own recollection of her brother, considering the relations between them and their ages at the time of parting, would serve as a confirmation, if any were needed. But further, the course of the plot is so arranged, that before the recognition takes place, the ample evidence available has become scarcely necessary. Since Orestes is accompanied by a person intimately acquainted with the country and the palace, his plans proceed without any domestic assistance. It is the old slave, his companion, who directs his operations, brings to Clytaemnestra the false news of his death, and undertakes to reconnoitre and prepare the household. Meanwhile a younger sister, Chrysothemis, visits the tomb of Agamemnon, sees there the offerings of Orestes, and returns convinced of his presence in the country: this opinion, though rash, ill-founded, and necessarily incredible to Electra, who has been told that he is dead, may nevertheless be supposed to leave in her mind a germ of unconscious doubt and expectation. It is only after all this

[1] Soph. *El.* 12, 169, 296, 1144, 1350, and *passim*.

that Orestes, arriving with the urn alleged to contain his relics, encounters Electra, and is betrayed by his emotion into the imprudence of disclosing his identity. The effect is instantaneous. Together with his declaration he proffers the seal of Agamemnon, a piece of evidence which, critically considered, adds little or nothing to his word. But nothing is wanted: Electra accepts him instantly. Nor are we surprised. The facts, the scene itself, taken with what has gone before, would in real life go far to justify her conviction: and what for the purpose of art is far more important, the spectator is prepared, by a whole series of suggestions, to suppose that, should occasion arise, Electra can easily be convinced. It is in short impossible for us, upon the facts given by Sophocles, to care how she is convinced, or to pay any attention to the means or the *quantum* of proof. The interest of the story lies wholly elsewhere.

By a very different road Euripides arrives at the same result. Orestes is accompanied only by Pylades, who has no acquaintance with the country. To put himself in communication with his sister is therefore necessarily his first step. He is a stranger to her, and she to him. Nothing has passed between them during his exile; each has remained ignorant where, how, and even whether the other lives. At the opening therefore it is a question of interest to Orestes, and to us, how he is to make himself known. But he presently discovers, from Electra herself, that the slave who saved him is still alive and likely to recognize him. The question of proof is thus so thoroughly disposed of, and the form of the disclosure so completely prefigured, that the actual scene must have fallen flat, if it were not animated by contrivances, of which something has been said already, and something remains to be said hereafter.

To expose the principle of the matter in its simplest form we may put yet one more hypothesis. In a real adventure resembling that of Orestes and Electra, it could not but be a matter of the gravest moment, how the parties were brought into communication. In a real action the actors are not free to choose where a *nodus* shall lie. But a narrator is perfectly free. The separation of Orestes and Electra, the need of a recognition, is an element in the situation which a dramatist might either use or not use, as he thought best for his purpose. If he chose in his opening to take the recognition as a *fait accompli*, we should never object; we also should take it so, without explanation or enquiry, simply supposing it to have been brought about in some one of the many ways imaginable, and addressing ourselves forthwith to the sequel presented by the author. The whole matter is in the hands of the

author, and it is he who, by determining our expectation, sets the rule for judging his performance.

Let us then apply this principle to the *Choephori*, and ask whether by the arrangement of the story we are led to expect that the manner, in which Electra recognizes her brother and is satisfied of his identity, will be interesting and will repay our attention. Euripides in his criticism assumes that we are led by Aeschylus to this expectation; and he is right. The story of Aeschylus differs from those of the two other dramatists in nothing more essentially than in this, that between the brother and sister there is no intermediary whatever. No one in Argos knows him, nor he any one in Argos. He brings with him no *paedagogus*, as in Sophocles, and therefore must put himself in communication with some one in the house of Clytaemnestra, before his design can proceed. Nor, as in Euripides, is there any *paedagogus* to recognize him. To Electra he is an absolute stranger[1]. Now in this situation it is a question of high romantic interest, how the orphan pair are to be brought together, and how Electra is to be assured that her brother is actually before her.

And that she shall be so assured, in some rational and effective manner, is required by her character, and by the important part which in Aeschylus, in Aeschylus only, she takes in the execution of the plan. The Electra of Sophocles would have been equal to any part, but her active services are scarcely required. In Euripides accident does everything; and it is certainly fortunate that no great demand is made upon the nerves or the judgment of his Electra. But in Aeschylus Electra is a right hand of the plot. To her, and to her alone, it is due that the slave-women, whose fidelity and co-operation are indispensable to the sequel, are roused from the apathy and cowardice natural to their debased condition, and are induced to share with her the first act of rebellion, to risk death and torture, for conscience' sake, by performing the rites at the grave, not according to the impious intentions of Clytaemnestra, but in a contrary sense and on behalf of the possible avengers[2]. It is inconceivable, that we are meant to regard the Electra of this scene, which precedes the *Anagnorisis*, and of the scenes which follow it, as a foolish and irresponsible person. But how rash, how contemptibly rash, she must be, if she risks the whole future of herself,

[1] The loss of the prologue does not affect what is here said, which is proved sufficiently by the negative evidence of the whole play. It is worth notice that in Aeschylus the separation of the children takes place earlier than in the other stories, certainly before the murder of Agamemnon, and possibly some time before.

[2] *vv.* 74—163.

her brother, and her house upon anything less than a certainty, that it is indeed Orestes, and not, as she naturally at first supposes[1], some spy or impostor, who presents himself at this perilous crisis! The Chrysothemis of Sophocles is, or pretends to be, convinced that her brother is in Argos by reasons palpably insufficient. But we know what Sophocles means. His Chrysothemis is a creature warm-hearted but weak, whose main resolve is to keep out of danger. She stakes nothing upon her unproved opinion. On the contrary she makes it a plea for shuffling out of a dilemma. She is sent to make offerings on behalf of her mother at the grave of Agamemnon. Electra protests against such an impiety, and begs her sister to pray and make offerings for the good cause instead. Their friends support the admonition, and Chrysothemis, imploring secrecy, promises to comply. She might safely have done it; for she goes alone, and only the promise, not even the intention, could have been proved against her. But she does nothing at all. She went to the grave, she saw that an offering had already been made there, a lock of hair, the look of which 'struck her as something familiar'. Surely it must be the gift of Orestes! And in her eagerness to communicate this joyful inference, she very judiciously returns as fast as possible[2]. Electra, who has reason to believe Orestes dead, and of course perceives that Chrysothemis brings nothing to the contrary, dismisses her story with impatience and disdain. And such are the feelings which our own Electra must excite, if she has no rational ground for the belief on which she acts. But Aeschylus cannot have intended this. If his heroine were a Chrysothemis, his play would be unsound at the base.

For two reasons therefore we must answer our first question in the affirmative. The author of the *Choephori* has chosen to make it difficult that Electra should be rationally satisfied of her brother's identity. He has chosen to make it vitally important that she should be so satisfied. And thirdly, he has bespoken our attention to the proof by the mere space allotted to it. Both Sophocles and Euripides have provided that the proof shall be easy, and so in itself uninteresting. Both accordingly despatch it with speed. In Sophocles there is just a line and a half between Electra's first glimpse of the truth and her full embrace of it[3]. In Euripides there are seven lines, and but for an accident, so to speak, there would have been nothing at all[4]. But Aeschylus, though the scale of his play is to that of Sophocles as two to three, keeps us fifty times as long as Sophocles and ten times as long as Euripides, keeps us hovering for nearly seventy lines on end over nothing but the conviction

[1] *v.* 219.
[2] Soph. *El.* 328 foll., 871 foll.
[3] Soph. *El.* 1222—1224.
[4] Eur. *El.* 570—577.

of Electra[1]. "Can he be in Argos? . . . It seems . . . . He must be . . . And yet . . . Impossible! . . . Yes . . . No! . . . But then again . . . . . And again . . . . Who is this? . . . . Orestes! . . . . You are not . . . . . You cheat me . . . . Or you jest? . . . I will pretend you are . . . . It is! . . . . . It is!". How futile and wearisome is all this argument and obstinacy, if nothing is really proved, if all the time the question remains visibly where it was, the final belief as weak as the first surmise, and all the rejoinders equally void!

Assuming then that it is a matter of just censure upon the *Choephori*, the story being what it is, if the proof of identity is not fairly solid, we have next to ask whether the proof criticised by Euripides is fairly solid. And here it will be well to observe, that Euripides cannot be answered by showing that the arguments are such as might under certain circumstances occur to the mind. It is really a little strange, since after all Euripides was not quite brainless, how many modern respondents would have requested him not to forget, that Electra, when she thus argues, is 'agitated'. For example Seidler[2], an excellent scholar, gravely observes: "In this ridicule Euripides was wrong. It is a truth perceived by Aeschylus that an anxious and depressed mind will often catch at hopes which have no real ground". Euripides would have been wrong indeed, and withal a transparent fool, if he had censured Aeschylus for doing *what he at that very moment was doing himself*, for attributing these arguments to an anxious and depressed mind. He censures the scene of Aeschylus not because it contains these worthless arguments, but because it contains no others, and because these are treated as sufficient ground for a momentous practical decision. Are they sufficient? That is the only question.

We may be the more brief with the answer, because at this point even the most valiant defenders of Aeschylus hesitate. Even Schlegel, in the midst of his fury, can say no more than that "the seeming improbability of the Aeschylean recognition perhaps admits of being cleared up". The proofs impugned are (1) that a lock of Orestes' hair is like his sister's, (2) that her foot fits his foot-print, (3) that he possesses a piece of her weaving. What is the value of them? Nothing. The first is nothing, the second is nothing; the third, by its nature, is worthless alone, and worthless in the circumstances supposed.

Of the third it might be sufficient to say, what I think will be admitted by any one who will calmly consider the text, that, according to Aeschylus, before Orestes presents himself, and therefore before the

[1] *Cho.* 164—231. [2] On Eur. *El.* 520.

piece of work is produced, Electra is already all but convinced, and for good reasons, that her brother must be in the country. It is doubtless a truth perceived by Aeschylus, as well as by Euripides and by every one, that an anxious mind will catch at straws. But surely it is not the language of one who catches at straws, to say that he is thrown by his doubts into "an agony destroying thought"[1]. The slave in Euripides, or Chrysothemis in Sophocles, would have been as incapable of such an agony as of all the strenuous debate which precedes it. It is the attitude not of one who is willing to deceive himself, but of one struggling desperately to see the truth, and confronted with the worst of mental tortures, a seeming proof of something which he cannot or dare not believe. If the first two proofs are really sufficient to bring a brave sane woman to this pass, then the third may be what it will. The mere coincidence, that just at this moment and in these circumstances a person presents himself claiming to be Orestes, would be evidence enough, when the first alarm passed off, to raise doubt into rational certainty.

We are therefore allowed and, I think, required to suppose, that the piece of work serves but as a feather-weight in a sinking scale. Nor could it be anything more. To see this we need no subtleties of critical acumen. The common sense, by which every one acts in his own daily affairs, will tell us that, if a person is to prove his identity by means of a thing or things in his possession or knowledge, he can do so only in a case where *the circumstances exclude the possibility of a prepared imposture.* We have a good example of such a proof in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. Two Greek strangers have been captured. The priestess of Artemis, a Greek woman, is about to sacrifice one of them to the goddess according to custom, and to send the other with a message to her friends in Greece. She dictates the message, and thereby discloses that she is Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. Thereupon one of the strangers declares himself to be her brother Orestes. She requires him to prove it, and he does so by mentioning several intimate facts in his knowledge, a family relic which lay out of sight and forgotten in Iphigenia's chamber, domestic incidents which occurred on the morning of her projected marriage, and the patterns of two pieces which she had woven. This is enough. But why? Because from the circumstances of the case it is impossible that the proof should have been fraudulently prepared. Because it is only the discovery, that the priestess is Iphigenia, made but an instant before, which gives the stranger a motive for proving that he is Orestes. But if the stranger

[1] *v.* 210 πάρεστι δ' ὠδὶς καὶ φρενῶν καταφθορά.

had come to the temple having known, before he left home, that Iphigenia was the priestess of it, then what would his proofs have been worth? All of them together scarcely anything, and one alone nothing whatever.

But we need not appeal to literature. Let us suppose the case our own. A shabby stranger calls upon me, and asks me to lend him ten shillings. In support of a pathetic story he alleges that he is well acquainted with the Bishop of ——, concerning whom he gives me various particulars. When he has done, I say to him "I am sorry that I cannot believe you. What you tell me of the Bishop is partly notorious and partly true. But parts of it are absurdly false, and unluckily for you *I know the Bishop.* Here is his card-case, with his cipher and arms, which he left on my table yesterday. And if you do not go, I shall send for the police". My visitor, perceiving that I was not likely to have within reach the card-cases of all the Bench, would conclude that I did know the Bishop, and would take himself off. But suppose that, not knowing the Bishop, I were unable to detect the man's blunders, and he, seeing me hesitate, were to say "I assure you *I know him well.* Here is his card-case, with his cipher and arms, which he left on my table yesterday". Should I be convinced? Or should I not rather send for the police?

Now in the *Choephori* the hypothesis of deliberate imposture on the part of the stranger is so far from being excluded by the circumstances, that it immediately occurs to Electra as the most natural[1]. Motives are plenty; he might be a spurious 'claimant' or, likeliest of all, a spy set upon her by the tyrants to betray her into rebellion and death. Why should she change her mind, and reject the notion of fraud, because he possesses a piece of her childish work? An impostor, particularly if prepared in Argos, would be more likely to possess twenty such objects than to want for one.

If then the conviction of Electra were supposed to depend in any material degree upon the piece of work, this would be one absurdity the more in the scene. But Aeschylus, as we have seen, is not liable to this charge at any rate, nor is it alleged by Euripides. Unless the violent agitation of Electra's mind, before the entrance of Orestes, has some rational ground, the scene is not defensible. If it has any rational ground, the sequel is already accounted for. For the sake of completeness, and because of some undeserved reflexions which have been made upon Euripides for 'inconsistency', it seemed best to estimate the final proof by itself. But the real case, so far as Aeschylus is concerned,

[1] *v.* 219 ἀλλ' ἢ δόλον τιν', ὦ ξέν', ἀμφί μοι πλέκεις;

turns on the reasons which, before Orestes appears, almost persuade Electra that he must be in the country; and to these we now proceed.

We have classed them above as the first two proofs; but to be accurate, we should say 'the first three'. There is firstly the fact that some one has made an offering at the grave of Agamemnon. There is the fact that the hair of the unknown visitor resembles Electra's own. And there is the fact that his foot and hers are of the same size. On all this the remarks of Euripides leave little to be said, and nothing material has been said by the apologists, who for the most part prefer to 'abuse the plaintiff's attorney'. To those who describe the inferences of Electra as 'natural fancies', 'the natural exaggerations of hopefulness', 'the natural extravagances of an over anxious mind', 'the natural sophisms of affection', and so on, it is enough to say that, although some of them hardly seem to perceive it, they agree with Euripides, and concede everything for which he contends. To those (if any there be) who maintain that these inferences are not fancies, exaggerations, extravagances, sophisms, or the like, but *reasons*, upon the faith of which an intelligent human being would be likely to risk her all, we may reply in the words of Conington, that they "proceed further with less judgment" than those who accept in substance what Euripides alleges and take it out in scolding him.

For my own part I conceive that, on a question of common sense and human nature, the opinion of Euripides is good enough for any man. To the principles of his criticism there is, in my judgment, but one objection to be made, and that is not to the advantage of Aeschylus. Euripides, by the manner in which he uses the faulty arguments in his own scene, implies that, though they are ridiculous as reasons, they are not unnatural as fancies. But one of them at least is beyond this range. It is not natural for a young woman, it is not natural, though less outrageous, for an old man, even to fancy that the relationship between a brother and a sister could be proved by the equal size of their feet: and if Euripides erred in making drama the vehicle of criticism, he has punished himself in the appropriate way. Be it noted meanwhile, that it is this most extravagant absurdity by which, as it would seem, the Electra of Aeschylus is most profoundly impressed. After straining her mind in vain over the resemblance of the hair, she returns to comparative calm; and it is after the examination of the foot-prints that her 'agony' rises to its height.

And now what next? What next, I mean, for those of us, a great majority, who graciously or ungraciously do, when all is said, assent in principle to the criticism of Euripides. In admitting that Aeschylus, by

his treatment of this incident, has without apparent reason defaced his play, there is room for many varieties of tone. There is the conscious haste of Schlegel, eager only to bully the critic, "at all events one may easily let it pass"; there is the robust and cheerful indifference of Paley, "one does not see why Aeschylus should be held impeccable"; there is the calm, scholarly, and mildly contemptuous dignity of Conington, "we need not be much concerned to vindicate Aeschylus from the ridicule of Euripides in the well-known passage of his *Electra*, not only because such a weapon, so used, recoils with fatal force upon the inventor, but because the point in which it is meant to touch Aeschylus is one which his admirers would most readily give up, his attention to probability and the nicer proprieties of the drama". But after watching the readers of Greek drama for many years with attention, I will venture to say that none of these tones represent the real feelings with which persons of average sense and sensibility, who are not framing a sentence for publication, rise from the perusal of this historic controversy. It may be that Schlegel would have spoken exactly as he writes; but Professor Paley I knew, and I am convinced that he would have spoken otherwise. Impartiality is always appropriate; but cheerfulness is here out of place. For the lover of letters it must be painful to see and to say, that such a magnificent fabric of imagination is thus broken in the very heart of it by a piece of purposeless and incomprehensible folly.

But it is yet premature to discuss, what tone we ought to adopt in accepting the conclusions of Euripides. Modern apology, so far as it has been relevant, has been directed almost entirely to showing that Euripides is wrong in his principles, wrong in attaching importance to probability, wrong in assuming that the tragedian can no more than any other artist defy with impunity the laws of nature and common sense. This line of apology has failed; the principles of Euripides remain sound and intact. What he assails is indefensible; and he can be shaken, if at all, only by disproving his facts, by showing that he has misread his author. This is a bold undertaking; but Euripides himself has given us some encouragements. In the first place, it is highly remarkable that, while the moderns, who know Aeschylus only by a small fraction of his works, and this not perfectly explained, incline to the opinion, that the improbabilities of the *Recognition* are in Aeschylus not surprising, Euripides, with knowledge incomparably wider, confesses them to be unworthy of Aeschylus, and attributes them to the physical decline of his faculties. And in this he is the more to be credited, because he witnesses against himself. His object,

here as often, was to ruin the authority of his predecessor. What were his motives, and how far justifiable, we are not now to enquire. At any rate nothing would have suited his purpose so well as to say, if he honestly and decently could, "This is the sort of nonsense which Aeschylus habitually talks": and nothing would have been easier than to put this in a dramatic form. But Euripides did not think (and the fact is worth reflexion) that the author of the *Agamemnon* and the *Seven against Thebes* was in the habit of defying sense. Euripides thought it strange that he should have done so in this one scene; and he thus emboldens us to enquire, what pains he had taken to ascertain the fact.

And we shall become still bolder, if it appears at a glance that he looked neither far nor carefully. I am not the first to think so. I am only insisting on what was observed by Stanley two centuries ago, and ages before by some critic, of whom a fragment is preserved in the *scholia*. The remarks of Euripides on the matter of the loom-work are unjustifiable. The absurdity which he censures is not in his author. "How should the man", he says, "have the clothes of the child?" But in Aeschylus there is nothing about any clothes. "Look at this piece of weaving (ὕφασμα), the work of thine own hand" are the words of Orestes[1]. There is nothing to show even that the thing is a garment, much less that it belongs, or ever did belong, to the dress of Orestes. From what is said of the weaving we should suppose that it is merely such a bit of stuff, presumably small, as might be made by a learner at the loom. It is indeed possible, and not unlikely, that Euripides had seen the scene acted so as to appear liable to his objection[2]. But if it were so, it was the duty of a critic, in passing severe sentence upon a play some forty or fifty years old[3], to distinguish between the play-wright and his expositors, and to give him the benefit of a doubt. The importance of this ancient remark is immense. It is a ground for more than suspicion that the studies of Euripides in the *Choephori* were hasty and superficial; and it should, I think, acquit us of impertinence in raising the question, whether his exposition is right.

What I now propose to show is that his exposition is utterly wrong,

[1] *v.* 230. οὐ πάντως ἐν τῷ νῦν χιτῶνι, ἀλλ' εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν παιδικὸν σπάργανον schol., and see Stanley *ad loc.* The word σπάργανον is used here in the looser sense of *toy*, *plaything*. There can be little doubt that the annotator is answering Euripides.

[2] See Klausen *ad loc. Aesch.* cited by Paley.

[3] The date of Eur. *Electra* is not exactly known, but several indications point to 415—13 B.C., which may be taken as approximate.

the not unnatural blunder of a poet in vogue, picking up at random for a temporary purpose the 'general sense' of an author not very clear, whom he much disliked, despised a little, and complacently believed to be gone once for all out of date. And I propose to show further, that, for all we know, no one in antiquity, except Euripides, ever did accept his interpretation, and that at all events as soon as a methodic criticism existed in Athens, that is to say, in the generation following Euripides' death, his error, if current before, was detected, and a better opinion established. For the germ of my theory, and therefore indirectly for all of it, I am indebted to my friend Professor Ridgeway of this University. The hint which he gave me in conversation, some years ago, has been freely developed, and he is not responsible either for the whole product or for any particular element. But whatever he will recognize is his.

In treating this question, as in all difficulties which arise with respect to the stories of Aeschylus, there is one plain fundamental truth to be kept steadily before the mind; and this is, that in respect of our knowledge, or rather of our ignorance, we stand (and for the matter of that Euripides in his later years already stood) in a position which Aeschylus never conceived or took into account. The plays of Aeschylus were written for audiences versed, like himself, in a small, but widely popular, literature of poetic narrative. His stories, with rare exceptions which we may here neglect, were taken bodily out of that literature, and are assumed throughout to be known beforehand. His own famous description of his works, as 'slices from the great banquet of epic poetry', defines his view precisely. A drama to him was, in respect of its plot, a thing essentially relative, a part, selected out of a given whole, to be illustrated by action and dialogue. To think of himself as an original narrator, and of his audience as coming to be informed of the facts, would have been a gratuitous and embarrassing perversion: and of readers he thought not at all. His position was that of one setting scenes from the Bible for a compact community of Protestants. Ours is the position of people who have lost all the Bible except the Pentateuch. And the position of Euripides, much better than ours and also much worse, is that of one who possessed or might have possessed the whole, who in a supercilious literary fashion knew and admired it as well as another, but who hated it nevertheless, like any Hume or Voltaire, and thought with pride that he had converted thousands to his view. It could not occur to Aeschylus, that his plays would be studied by men who had no Stesichorus; and he would perhaps have found it even harder to believe, that among the boys who listened to the warnings of the *Eumenides* were some who, before they died, would regard himself,

and Stesichorus too, as the devotees and idols of an obsolete superstition.

With regard to the story taken by Aeschylus for the *Choephori* we stand, as we saw in a preceding essay, in our usual state of nearly perfect ignorance. We see that he takes it as known, and that barely the germs of it are to be found in the older poems now extant. We are certain that he followed authority, and may put a guess-name to the author. But beyond what Aeschylus tells or implies, we have no information sufficiently accurate and trustworthy to be of use. And where, which is almost everywhere, he seems to omit or compress, we are of necessity thrown upon inference. If what he says is obscure, we must look for what he assumes.

Now when we consider generally the outline of Aeschylus' narrative, in its bearing on the matter of the *Recognition*, it will naturally occur to us to remark, how very peculiar and remote from common experience must be the situation supposed. The problem, which Aeschylus in the *Recognition* professes to solve, is this. A brother and sister are parted when both are children; after years of total separation they meet as adults, in a crisis which makes it imperative that each should be promptly and certainly assured of the other's identity. There is no witness to whom they can appeal. The circumstances are such as to prove the identity of the sister, but throw no light on that of the brother, except so far as they favour the supposition that he is an impostor. How is the sister to be convinced that he is not? To which question, I imagine, the natural answer would be, that within the range of common experience there is no speedy means by which she could be convinced; that to prove a man's identity without any witnesses is notoriously hard, and can only be done, if the case is open to suspicion, by a mass of cumulative evidence. If, we might say, you choose to suppose a *lusus naturae*, if, for example, the brother and sister, like Shakespeare's Sebastian and Viola, or the pairs in the *Comedy of Errors*, were twins exactly alike, the mutual recognition might no doubt be instantaneous. But as to this we should observe, if the problem were one of literary invention, that such freaks are suitable only for work of a light or fanciful character: and if it were tragedy, we should probably advise the author either to give it up and begin again, or to attempt no proof and to rely on the *voix du sang*. For the present purpose both the *voix du sang* and the *lusus naturae* may be dismissed. It is certain that in Aeschylus Electra is not supposed to recognize her brother either by his features or by any mysterious and occult monition from within. When she sees him, sense and instinct alike command distrust; but she is re-assured and convinced,

as she has been almost convinced before, by proof. What is the proof?

To judge by the degrees of her emotion, the strongest evidence is the evidence from the footprints. Let us see what she says of it.

> καὶ μὴν στίβοι γε, δεύτερον τεκμήριον,...
> ποδῶν δ'...ὅμοιοι,...τοῖς τ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς·
> καὶ γὰρ δύ' ἐστὸν τώδε περιγραφὰ ποδοῖν,
> αὐτοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ συνεμπόρου τινός·
> πτέρναι τενόντων θ' ὑπογραφαὶ μετρούμεναι
> ἐς ταὐτὸ συμβαίνουσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς στίβοις.
> πάρεστι δ' ὠδὶς καὶ φρενῶν καταφθορά.

"Yes! See, there are marks on the ground to tell us more (*she stoops and examines them closely*)....And marks of feet,...marks alike,...and they resemble mine!.....Yes, there are here two outlines of feet,...there is his, and that of some companion.....(*after a long scrutiny*) In the measures of heel and fore-part the lines suggested agree exactly with the marks made by me.....It is an agony; it paralyses thought".

Now if we compare these words attentively with the criticism of Euripides, we see that here, as in the case of the piece of work, he has read into Aeschylus something, which may or may not be correct as a supplement, but is not in the words themselves[1]; and that in this case, going still further, he has left something out of account. The slave in Euripides suggests that Electra should go and put her foot into the track of Orestes: whereupon she rejoins that hard ground would not take an impress (ἔκμακτρον) of the foot, and that the male and female foot are not equal. Now upon this we have to remark, that neither is *impress* in the text, nor anything about 'putting the foot of Electra into the track of Orestes', nor, above all, do we find there a word which signifies *equal*. That the comparison is between the sister's foot and the brother's footprint is the gloss of the critic, not the statement of the author, who says expressly that it is between his marks and her marks. And of the marks he says that they are *like*, not *equal*, and that 'in the measurements of heel and fore-part the outlines agree exactly'. These expressions are so far from importing the notion of equality, that, taken together and construed with due regard to the nature of the things described, they fairly exclude that notion. Suppose a man were to say, "I have a bronze inkstand which is like the Pantheon at Rome. In all the measure-

[1] This is the fact which, with the general line of hypothesis, to which it might lead, was first pointed out to me by Professor Ridgeway.

ments, outside and inside, dome and portico, columns and architrave, the forms agree exactly". And suppose the person to whom he spoke were to say to him some time afterwards, "What did you mean by telling me that your bronze inkstand was as big as the Pantheon at Rome? The thing, I find, is impossible". Surely he might retort, "I said what I meant: I said that they were exactly *alike*. When I spoke of *measurements*, I meant *proportions*, as indeed I sufficiently showed by the specification of parts. The difference in size, I confess, I did not mention; but that was because I thought you knew that a church and an inkstand must differ in this particular. I am sorry that you were misled; but even now, to be candid, it strikes me as somewhat strange, that when you observed this necessity, you did not see what I meant without referring to me".

We may make for Aeschylus the like rejoinder about the feet, and may thus further reduce to insignificance, if not annihilate, the objection of Euripides with respect to the hardness of the ground. It would be idle to reply, that the ground may not have been specially hard, because Euripides of course means (and is so far right), that average ground would not take an 'impress', and that if softness beyond the average was wanted, it should have been indicated. But in all this talk of an 'impress' or 'model', Euripides has in view his own conception of Electra putting her foot 'into' Orestes' footprint. Aeschylus says that, comparing her marks and his, she perceives *the outlines suggested* to be alike in proportion of parts. For this we do not require an impress of any depth. If the faintest traces were visible, traces so faint that another foot could not be put 'into' any one of them without the risk of obliteration, it would still be easy for the eye, by inspecting several, to ascertain the type. Traces sufficient for that might be left on average ground, and this refutes the censure[1].

If these remarks are just, we have gained an important step. We may now say with some confidence that, in the function of interpreter, in translating the language of Aeschylus into his own, Euripides carries no authority, because he took no pains. His copy is no *ecmactron*, nor even a true *perigraphé*. He formed his impression at a glance; but in the way of verification he did not even go so far as to study the original closely; much less can we suppose him to have enquired, what light could be thrown upon it from without. He took the office of a critic, but the liberty of a poet: and it remains that we, who are critics merely, should do as well as we can without his assistance.

[1] For further details and confirmation see the notes on the passage.

It appears then that the gist of the proof deduced from the footmarks lies in the fact that some of them correspond exactly with those of Electra, not in size but in type. They exhibit a certain proportion between the heel and the fore-part of the foot, so peculiar as to be plainly distinguishable from common footmarks, such as those for example of Pylades. Now to account for this fact and inference, it must have been laid down and insisted on, in the story followed by Aeschylus, that the royal family, to which Orestes and Electra belonged, were distinguished from the population, among whom they lived, by such physical peculiarities as would signify and amount to a difference of *race*. Nothing is more likely. They were descended from Pelops[1], at the distance, according to the common version, of only three generations: and Pelops, according to tradition certainly older than Aeschylus[2] and found by Thucydides to have the best authority[3], was not a native of the country but an immigrant from Asia, raised to the throne by his wealth, marriage, and policy. Nothing is therefore more likely than that Pelops should have been a person who, to risk a 'bull', could never have passed for a Peloponnesian, and that even his great-grandchildren should bear marks of the foreign strain, unmistakeable when attention was called to them. To carry the matter farther, and to ask what particular marks a poet (let us say) of the sixth century would be likely to pitch upon, is needless and would not be safe, since those who agreed that the breed of Pelops was not Hellenic, but foreign and Asiatic, yet varied as to the nation: and besides, no writer in that age could have been exact in ethnology. That the feet are tell-tale members is a familiar fact, which unscientific observation would readily suggest and employ. Professor Robertson Smith has given me an excellent illustration. Among the Arabs the word *caïf* signifies first 'a tracker of men and animals' and afterwards 'a person called in to determine disputed questions of parentage by the physical appearance of the child'. This combination of meanings points to a belief that family likeness was visible mainly in the feet, which belief appears also in several Arabic stories[4]. In respect of extent, in its broad and radical character, the difference of type described by Aeschylus may be compared with that between the feet of negroes and of whites.

We proceed then next to the question, whether the same supposition will help in the case of the hair. Now here again Euripides is in

[1] *Agam.* 1600, *Cho.* 501.
[2] Pind. *Ol.* I. 36.
[3] Thuc. I. 9.
[4] Professor Robertson Smith proposes to illustrate the subject in a forthcoming paper to be read before the Cambridge Philological Society.

principle quite correct. "How", he asks, "could a woman, finding on her father's grave a lock of hair, conclude with any reason that the hair must be her brother's? The 'feather' forsooth of the family! But hair of different families is constantly undistinguishable. And corresponding to *her own*! If this means any more than it was like that of her family, the inference would be that it was at any rate *not* her brother's, being like the hair of women, which, from the habits of the sexes, is in a general way distinguishable at sight from that of men. If the hair were man's hair, and if from the circumstances it was not very likely to have been offered by an inhabitant of the place, why not by any one else, a friend, let us say, on his travels? Why, in the name of good sense, should she think that it must be her brother's?" Good sense it is undoubtedly, and not to be shaken by any such humorous cavil, as that the hair of Orestes could not show, as Euripides suggests, the effects of *palaestrae*, because there were no *gymnasia*, no regular schools of exercise, in the heroic age. Euripides would have stared to see this objection urged by men who hear with approval (and why not?) when Sophocles, in his *Electra*, describes the Pythian Games. Why is the word παλαίστρα to be banished from a world, where, according to Aeschylus, the technical terms of wrestling were familiar enough for frequent use in metaphor; and what has the history of gymnastics to do with the thing in dispute?

No, the objection is cogent, if we will let Euripides assume, as he does, that the case is an ordinary case of brother and sister, that Orestes and Electra are normal persons, Argives of Argos, and that their foreign breed was of no more importance in the story taken by Aeschylus, than it is in Sophocles' play, or in his own. But what research did he make, to be sure of this? After what we have seen, presumably none at all. Nor did he return to his text in this part, any more than in the others, with the purpose of seeing whether he might not have missed the intention. For here again there are points, of which he takes no account.

First, Electra is positive that the hair is not Clytaemnestra's. In her estimate of possibilities she dismisses this without balancing:

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μήν νιν ἡ κτανοῦσ' ἐκείρατο[1].

And it must be from the hair itself that she knows this; for she has no other evidence. Of an ordinary wife indeed it might have been argued, that she would not make an offering to the grave of a husband

[1] *v.* 188.

whom she had murdered: but the mission of Electra is itself a proof that Clytaemnestra has no such scruple, not to mention that some one else might have conveyed the offering on her behalf but without her command. But Electra naturally knows the look of her mother's hair, and is able to say that this is not it. Now what an extraordinary family this must be! Here is a woman who says, "This is a hair which runs in our family. It is like mine. I think it must be that of my unknown brother", and presently adds, "It is certainly not my mother's". Who does not see that, in a case of common experience, this last remark would knock the bottom out of the previous inference? An ordinary man is quite as likely to have hair like his mother's, as hair like his sister's. The hair of Orestes' mother is not like the lock in question. Why should it then be presumed that the hair of Orestes would be? There is but one possible answer to this question. "Because the peculiarity was derived solely through Orestes' *father*, and was a mark ineradicable, a trait not merely of family but of *race*". In comparison with the Achaeans around them Orestes and Electra were octoroons. What she discerns in the lock is its resemblance to the Pelopid hair, derived from her great-grandfather the Asiatic. And this hair her mother, not being a Pelopid[1], of course had not. Here then is one point respecting the hair, of which Euripides in his exposition takes no account.

Secondly, when Electra has exhausted her speculations on the lock, she retains a doubt. Let us examine the cause of her doubt.

'Alas!...Ah, would that this hair had the kind voice of a messenger, to save me from tossing between two opinions, to say to me plainly either, 'Spurn the lock away', because it was cut from the head of a foe, or to take its kindred part in my service of mourning and worship to this grave and to my father![2]'.

Here again is an indication that the case must be highly peculiar and different from such ordinary circumstances as Euripides chooses to suppose. She has already come to the brink of a positive conclusion that the hair is that of Orestes[3]. But still she cannot quite dismiss the alternative, that it may be that of a *foe*, an ἐχθρός. Now in any common case, one would say, this is just the one supposition which might be dismissed without doubt. A tribute to a grave is itself a token of kindness: both in Sophocles[4] and in Euripides[5] Electra, in conjecturing the donor of the hair, naturally starts on this assumption. Why then in Aeschylus does she find it, on the contrary, impossible

[1] See on *Ag.* 1573.
[2] *vv.* 194—199.
[3] *vv.* 191—193.
[4] *El.* 932.
[5] *El.* 545.

not to fear that the donor is a foe? Because the very argument, which points to Orestes as the donor, points equally to her deadliest enemy; and on other grounds that enemy is far the likelier of the two. All she knows of the lock, and her only, though almost sufficient, reason for thinking that it is the hair of Orestes, is that it seems to be unquestionably the hair of a Pelopid, hair such as a Pelopid must have, and none but a Pelopid could have. But Aegisthus was Pelops' grandson. And if the racial quality of Pelopid hair was so remarkable and persistent as the argument supposes, it would certainly overlay and obscure any minor personal differences; so that to distinguish the hair of two Pelopids would be difficult in proportion as it was easy to tell Pelopid hair from any other. Now Electra knows that one of her father's murderers, Clytaemnestra, has just been prompted by terror to make, notwithstanding the impiety of the act, an offering at the victim's grave. What more credible than that the same idea should have occurred to the other, and that he should have carried it out, not with the audacious cruelty of Clytaemnestra, but with the 'prudence' which belonged to himself? This is at any rate much likelier than that Orestes has returned. And Electra has one reason for preferring to suppose that the hair is that of Aegisthus. If it is that of Orestes, the most probable inference, as she has seen[1], is not that he has returned, but that he has died, and has *sent* the hair, according to custom, as a memorial. (The footprints exclude this hypothesis and thus very much strengthen the argument. It is still unproved: but at this point speculation is cut short by the entrance of Orestes.) Electra therefore, who shows throughout the sound reason of a truly courageous mind, knows and says, that the hair does not prove what she wishes. To say positively that it is that of Orestes, and that Orestes lives, would be 'to beguile herself with hope'. It is either that of Orestes or that of Aegisthus, but which, 'only the hair itself could say'[2].

Here then are two more points, in which the general interpretation assumed by Euripides does not satisfy the requirements of the text: and both are satisfied by the same hypothesis, to which we have been previously led.

We now turn from the partial proof, which Electra reasons out before the entrance of Orestes, to the complete persuasion which follows it. As she concludes her remarks upon the footprints, Orestes, who has heard her throughout and perceives that she is ripe for conviction, suddenly steps forth from his place of concealment. Electra,

[1] See on *vv.* 179—181.

[2] As to Aegisthus, see also the additional note on *vv.* 177—178, appended to the translation.

in the shock of finding that the secret of the treasonable acts and speculations, in which she and the slaves have been engaged, is in the possession of a stranger, forgets for the moment her previous impressions, and returns to a state of suspicion and incredulity. Orestes however cuts short her protests with the remark, that what was almost proved from his hair and footprints can surely be seen beyond doubt in his actual person:

> αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὁρῶσα δυσμαθεῖς ἐμέ·
> κουρὰν δ' ἰδοῦσα τήνδε κηδείου τριχὸς
> ἀνεπτερώθης καὶδόκεις ὁρᾶν ἐμέ,
> ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τ' ἐν στίβοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς.
> σαυτῆς ἀδελφοῦ, συμμέτρου τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ,
> σκέψαι τομῇ προσθεῖσα βόστρυχον τριχός.

How Euripides understood these lines, or whether he paid any attention to them, we cannot say. He imitates the last of them, but in a way which does not commit him to any view of its connexion with the context or the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs. We do him no injustice in supposing that here also he was content with a hasty glance and a vague reminiscence. At all events the modern critics, who adopt his conception of the scene as a whole, but rightly think themselves not at liberty to ignore the words, acknowledge here that they are completely at fault. After the labours of two centuries it is scarcely rash to say that, upon the assumptions of Euripides, no explanation of these lines is possible, nor any plausible correction. The lines have been arranged and re-arranged in almost every conceivable order. Lines have been struck out, lines inserted, and words altered; and still there is no agreement, except that something is wrong. There is indeed only one real difficulty, but that, upon the Euripidean (and modern) theory, is insuperable. It is clear on the one hand, that σύμμετρος κάρᾳ is an expression not properly applicable to anything but *the proportions of the head*; and on the other hand that, as long as we follow Euripides, we cannot find or suspect any relation between the proportions of the head and the subject in view. But the reader, I imagine, is not waiting for me to point out, that, if the general purport of the scene is what we have now supposed, this is the very topic which we should here expect to find. If the marks, by which Electra divines that Orestes is in the neighbourhood, are those of a deep distinction, not of family but of race, which severed the pair from all other persons in the world, except one, whose presence in Argos, as worshippers at the tomb of

Agamemnon, was probable enough to be worth taking into account, then, according to common knowledge, the clinching proof, which Orestes himself could furnish, that Electra's conjecture had been correct, would be found naturally in *the shape of his skull.* This is the universal race-mark, the broadest by which two persons, whose physical types are sufficiently similar to deceive a casual eye, will betray their difference of origin to a closer inspection. And this it is to which Orestes calls the attention of his sister.

> Nay, it is I myself whom seeing thou wilt not perceive although at the sight of this cutting of hair, my sorrow's offering, thou flewest on wings to the thought, that what thou sawest was me, and scanning the tracks didst think, that thou sawest me in my marks. The lock of hair is that of thine own brother, shaped in the head like thee; put it in the place from which it was cut, and remark[1].

The action, to which he invites her, serves at once to show that he is the person who offered the lock, the subject of her previous conclusions, and also to draw her sight and touch to where a fresh proof may be found. The evidence is now within an inch of rigorous demonstration. The stranger is one who has enough interest in her dead father to pay him a perilous respect. His general aspect is Hellenic[2]. He bears not only two but three physical marks of that Asiatic strain which is peculiar to the children of Pelops. And he is not Aegisthus. This is a case upon which, in the given state of the family and the world, the stranger might almost have pleaded a title in law. It is more than enough for one in the position of Electra. It is not any scruple of reason, but only the shock of certitude, which keeps her dumb for a few seconds more, as her hand falls from his hair, and her eye surveys him from the head to the foot. And when, holding out a piece of faded linen, he says "This is your own work. Look at the weaving. Look at the pattern", the flash of childish memory breaks her stupor, and she falls upon him with a scream.

The assumption made by Electra, that Aegisthus and Orestes are the only surviving male descendants of Pelops, accords with the other indications given by Aeschylus. Menelaus, of whom we hear nothing after his disappearance in the storm[3], had doubtless long been reckoned as dead: in any case he would not have pretended to be his nephew. This (so far as Aeschylus is concerned) exhausts the stock of Atreus. Aegisthus alone represents Thyestes[4]. The family of Pelops, according

[1] For the details of the language see the notes.

[2] This would naturally be the case, and the sequel of course requires it.

[3] *Ag.* 629.

[4] *Ag.* 1605.

to an ancient version with which Aeschylus seems to have agreed[1], consisted of three sons; but the third, Chrysippus, appears in the legends only to be murdered, and does not figure as a father. The long list of sons and daughters known to late authors[2] is probably due to the fertility of genealogists, who obtained a start for their pedigrees by adding alternatives together. The proof of Orestes' identity thus brings out also the fact, that upon him alone depends in all likelihood the prospect of a right heir to the founder's line, which adds a point to the salutation of the slaves:

> ὦ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασιν πατρός,
> δακρυτὸς ἐλπὶς σπέρματος σωτηρίου,
> ἀλκῇ πεποιθὼς δῶμ' ἀνακτήσει πατρός[3].

O welcome thou, chief care of thy sire's house, thou long-wept hope of seed to keep it alive! Sure in the strength of thy sire thou shalt win his house again.

I hope hereafter to show that the peculiar character of the Pelopid family, which is so important here, may also throw some light on the *Eumenides*.

It would be idle, as has been already said, to seek a more precise definition of the Pelopid characteristics than is contained in the Aeschylean text. Indeed as this definition is precise enough for the literary purpose, it is quite likely that the original authority furnished no more. One detail I will just notice, though I do not know whether it has any weight. Euripides, we see, was particularly struck with the word ὁμόπτερος, applied to the hair, and thought it, as a variant for ὅμοιος *like*, objectionable. It may well be nothing more than a picturesque and fanciful metaphor, such as Aeschylus loves. But we may observe that a like metaphor occurs again in the same connexion:

> κουρὰν δ' ἰδοῦσα τήνδε κηδείου τριχὸς
> ἀνεπτερώθης.

Possibly therefore ὁμόπτερος is not merely fanciful, but is connected with the special (*feathery*) quality of the hair imagined. Whatever this quality was, we must suppose (and there is no difficulty in doing so) that it is concealed sufficiently to escape notice for a time, especially in the dusk of evening, when Orestes 'makes up' as a traveller from Phocis[4]. The peculiarity of the feet would be still more easily hidden, and that of the skull would require no hiding.

[1] *Ag.* 1605.

[2] Smith, *Dict. Myth.* Pelops.

[3] *vv.* 234—236. σπέρμα signifies strictly a line of right male descent.

[4] See also notes on *vv.* 167—175, where Aeschylus has taken pains to make it clear, that the peculiarity of the hair was not superficially striking.

I turn now to the question, whether we have anything outside of the text to confirm or shake the conclusion that Euripides misinterprets it. General experience has certainly nothing to say against it. We have only to consult our own consciences. The means and motives to accuracy in literary matters are and have been for ages infinitely superior to those of Euripides' time. Yet even now there are few indeed, who would not be capable of misrepresenting grossly, on a point of detail, an ambiguous writer against whom they had a prejudice. On the character and habits of Euripides we have much information in his own writings, which have a strong personal flavour, and in the caricature by Aristophanes, which, drawn as it was, immediately after his death, for the benefit of his admirers, would have been futile, if it had not had a basis of reality. The traits are emphatically those of a reformer and revolutionary, a conscious, acknowledged leader in a vast intellectual change. He was for his time a notable reader and student; but his favourite studies were in the fast-fermenting speculations of his contemporaries. For the 'uneducated' generations before him, and for the literature on which they fed, he professed and doubtless felt a great contempt. That (in a good hour) he became a dramatist, seems to have been due to circumstances rather than taste, to the immense importance of mounting the national pulpit. It is not likely that in his mature years he gave any close attention to the writings of Aeschylus, still less to his 'sources'. As a boy he must have known the plays, in the loose fashion of the general reader, very well: but, unless he went through a conversion which we have no reason to suppose, he never can have admired them without many reserves. Two minds more antipathetic could hardly be conceived. When he came to write his *Electra*, he read the *Choephori*, as we see from the result, with the intention of doing it 'justice', that is to say, of replacing it by a work better suited to an 'enlightened' people, and throwing ridicule, if occasion served, upon its style and tendency. Anything which he had known of its details and history he had had ample time to forget. In short he came to it with an apparatus of error.

It will be instructive and satisfying to compare his treatment of Aeschylus with Schlegel's retaliation. For Schlegel was a critic by profession. He could and did comprehend with ease the transparent language of Euripides' *Electra*. But this did not prevent him from making reflexions upon it, under the influence of dislike, which simply prove that he did not remember the story. "Euripides' play", he says,

"is a singular instance of poetical or rather unpoetical obliquity: to expose all its absurdities and contradictions would be an endless undertaking. Why, for instance, does Orestes badger his sister by keeping up his incognito so long?"

That is to say, why does Orestes not declare his identity at the first interview? For two reasons, each sufficient and imperative, which no one, who looked for them, could have failed to see. *First*, because he has as yet no proof, and does not even know whether he will be able to procure one. And *secondly*, because he and his sister are never beyond reach of observation or overhearing. He does not himself know whether there exists a qualified witness, one who commands her confidence and is likely to be acquainted with his person. As a fact there is just one. This he adroitly manages to learn from Electra, without putting a suspicious question, in the course of their conversation[1]. If there had been none, he must, sooner or later, have tried the effect of a bare declaration, risking the probable and perilous suspicion of imposture. But of course he does not dream of doing this as long as there is a hope of evidence. And even had his evidence been ready, he would not have produced it in the presence or neighbourhood of a dozen gossiping female visitors, 'friends' of Electra, as she tells him, but the very last people to whom one would choose to reveal a momentous secret. It is with reluctance[2] that in their hearing he even conducts the hypothetical enquiry, by which he elicits the necessary information about his witness. And in fact it is the embarrassment of their presence which gives piquancy to the actual recognition. The obvious course for Orestes was to seek the old slave at his dwelling, and test his recollection. This he would doubtless have done, if arrangements beyond his knowledge or control had not thrown him, just as he and Pylades are slipping away from Electra's house, upon the very man. Not only so, but in the meanwhile the slave has been at Agamemnon's grave, has seen Orestes' offering, and has leaped to the suspicion that it is Orestes, who is now with Electra. He is thus put instantly on the track, and the recognition is the work of a few seconds. But there is this humorous element in it, that Orestes, though he wants to be recognized, is most unwilling to be recognized there and then, and

[1] *vv.* 282—286. As soon as he *has* learnt it, he carefully quits the topic. The question ὁ *καθαγὼν δὲ σὸς πατὴρ τύμβου κυρεῖ*; is a mere device to turn the conversation. Orestes has just come from the grave itself. This is one of the exquisitely clever and subtle strokes with which the dialogue abounds. Schlegel, it may be guessed, would have rated Euripides for the 'stupidity' of the needless enquiry, and for 'forgetting' that Orestes already knew. His remarks on the *Electra*, and on Euripides generally, are full of misunderstandings. He said himself, very truly, that he did not know why the play was written. It did not occur to him apparently that, this being so, he was not the person to criticize it.

[2] *v.* 272.

instead of meeting him half-way, affects the utmost surprise, that he should be so much interested in the appearance and features of a stranger. However a certain scar makes the slave quite sure, and being too much excited to think of consequences, he forces Orestes' hand[1].

It may now be judged, how far Schlegel shows himself worthy of trust as an interpreter of Euripides, when he asks "Why does Orestes badger his sister by keeping up his incognito so long?", and by analogy how much reliance we ought to place upon Euripides as an interpreter of the *Choephori*. Each in this instance essayed the task of judging a work of art in which he took no interest other than polemical. No talent will save from error the critic who ventures to do this.

We turn to Sophocles, whose interpretation of Aeschylus, if we could get it, might fairly be thought decisive. And I think we have some indication of it, though from the nature of the case it is indirect. Sophocles, like Euripides, does not found the recognition upon the family traits of Orestes, and therefore has little occasion to notice them. He touches on the subject however in the argument already noticed, which is drawn by Chrysothemis from the hair of Orestes upon the grave. The moment she saw it, she says, she was profoundly struck by something familiar in its appearance (ἐμπαίει τί μοι ψυχῇ ξύνηθες ὄμμα), and when she took it up, could scarcely check an outcry, being sure that it was that of her brother, "For to whom but me and thee does this belong?" She returned at once to Electra, bringing the hair with her[2]. The argument is partly parallel to that of Electra in Aeschylus; and in Sophocles also not only Chrysothemis (which would signify little) but Electra herself treats it as not without substance. For when she has told her sister that Orestes is dead, and Chrysothemis asks "Whose then can the offerings be?", she replies, "I incline to think myself that they

[1] Used as it is in this scene, a special mark is scarcely liable to the depreciation which Aristotle in the *Poetics* (cap. xvi.) justly lays in general upon recognitions διὰ σημείων. When the mark is the means, and but for the mark the recognition could not take place, such a scene is apt to be frigid. But there is nothing extraordinary, nothing to require special support, in the recognition of a man of eighteen or nineteen by the person who had charge of him up to the age of twelve. Prompted as he is beforehand, the slave would naturally recognize Orestes, scar or no scar. The only function of the scar is that it makes the slave immediately positive, in spite of Orestes' behaviour, and enables him to remove, by an appeal to Electra's memory of her childhood, the distrust of his intelligence, which she has for the moment conceived. The scar is not the ground of the recognition, but only causes it to take place a few minutes earlier than it otherwise would.

[2] *v.* 909.

are memorials of our dead brother[1] which some one has placed there". Now unless it is assumed that the family in question was *unique* in its traits, the argument of Chrysothemis is not only inconclusive (which it is in any case), but baseless. There is nothing at all to connect the offerings with Orestes, and the natural answer to the question "Whose are they, if not his?" would be "Why, those of somebody else!" As Sophocles certainly meant us to think highly of Electra's mind, and would have shown a want of his usual delicacy in making even Chrysothemis ridiculous, we should suppose that he did assume the family to be unique in its traits, distinguishable from all other families and persons in the world, or at least in that part of it which Electra and Chrysothemis had occasion to consider, not merely by such slight and inconstant differences as are seen between house and house, but by those profound and unfailing marks, which, for generation after generation, will betray the filtration of a foreign and unmixable race. We should suppose in short that he understood the scene of Aeschylus, to which he evidently alludes, in the way for which I am contending. That the founder of the Pelopid house was in fact a foreigner, and not a Hellene, Sophocles states both in this play (*v.* 505) and more explicitly in the *Aias* (*v.* 1292). The bearing of the fact on the plot he doubtless assumed, as Aeschylus assumes both fact and bearing to be notorious to the audience beforehand.

From the allusion of Aristophanes in the *Clouds*[2] we can infer nothing material to our present purpose. Indeed it is scarcely a reference to the *Choephori* in particular, but rather to the story of Electra, as it appears both in Aeschylus and in Sophocles. "This comedy", says Aristophanes, "like the Electra whom we know (Ἠλέκτραν κατ' ἐκείνην), comes looking for spectators of as much wit as those who praised my first effort. For she will recognize, if she sees it, her brother's lock". That is to say, she has herself the same traits as the former comedy, and deserves the same approbation on moral grounds, which he thereupon shows to be the fact. This implies only that Electra does recognize a family likeness in the lock, whether on grounds sufficient or insufficient. All that can perhaps be said is that, if her inference had been in any way strained or unnatural, Aristophanes, for his own purpose, had better have spared the allusion.

This, I think, is all the evidence which we have from contemporaries

[1] μνημεῖ' Ὀρέστου: cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 49 μνημεῖά θ' αὑτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν εἰς δόμους πρὸς ἁρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἑστεφον, with the schol. περόνας ἢ τρίχας ἤ τι τὸ τοιοῦτον.

[2] *v.* 534.

of Euripides. And indeed we have no reason to think that, in his time, the question which we are discussing would have excited much attention. The point of view was not that to which we are accustomed. The modern readers and enquirers have been all persons more or less familiar with historical criticism, and interested (to say the least) as much in Aeschylus as in Euripides. On the Aeschylean side and for a student of the *Choephori*, the question, whether the censure of Euripides is just, has all, and more than all, the importance which has been attached to it. But for a man of the day, reading the *Electra* of Euripides merely as a work by the popular writer of the day, the question is not only unimportant, but would easily escape notice altogether. Except one or two small peculiarities of wording, which the average reader would either miss or dismiss, there is nothing in the scene of Euripides which requires explanation from without. The reputation of Aeschylus had at that time reached the lowest point to which an author destined to live can descend. To the generation in power his works were 'the sort of thing that was liked by one's father or grandfather[1]', a distinction peculiarly strong on the morrow of the greatest intellectual revolution, except the Renaissance, which has ever occurred among men, and the most rapid of all. The Aeschyleans, as we know from the unimpeachable witness of Aristophanes[2], were a small minority, helpless amid the mob. The mass did not care for the *Choephori*, and if they had been told that Euripides had pretended to show an absurdity in it, which was not there, would have answered, that doubtless some other absurdity was. The others, not at all behind in prejudice and misplaced contempt, were not very likely to bestow a minute study upon the *Electra*. Impartial and historical criticism, as we understand it, had scarcely begun to exist.

But in the next century the situation changed. The science of history, founded by Thucydides, made rapid progress, and the science of criticism along with it[3]. Aeschylus was remote enough to be admired, and Euripides to be censured. When the *Choephori* and the *Electra* were not merely read by different persons, but studied by the same, the critical question could not escape notice; and the fourth century was provided, as the fifth in general was not, with the apparatus of research. How then did the fourth century decide? Against the interpretation of Euripides. It is one of the strongest reasons for the

[1] Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1361 foll.

[2] *Frogs*, 779—783.

[3] The lately discovered Aristotelian treatise *On the Constitution of Athens*, shows (cap. 18) how much research and controversy had been bestowed upon points of which Thucydides declares his countrymen universally ignorant.

interpretation of Aeschylus here advanced, that it explains, what to me at least has always appeared amazing, the praise, and the sort of praise, which is bestowed on the *Recognition* in the *Choephori* by the author of the *Poetics*[1]. Aristotle divides recognitions, as elements of drama, into classes in order of merit. The test of merit is the amount of skill (τέχνη) shown in devising the method of discovery. Highest of all stand those, where the discovery "arises from the action itself", where there is nothing of which we can say "This is brought in simply to make the discovery possible", but it seems to come about of itself through incidents which are natural independently of it. Such is, he says, the recognition of Iphigenia by Orestes in Euripides[2]. The priestess of the Tauric Artemis, herself a Greek, gives to a Greek stranger a message to be conveyed to her friends, and thus reveals that she is his sister. This is good, because the sending of the message is natural in the situation, without regard to its effect in producing the discovery. So also in Sophocles the discovery of Oedipus, that Iocasta is his mother, is well contrived, because it works itself out incidentally, through his search for the murderers of Laius. To arrange the story so that it shall thus play up to the recognition is admirable in proportion to the skill which it requires.

In all other cases, wherever anything is seen to have been put into the story simply for the purpose of recognition, the invention is easier, more apparent, and therefore inferior. Lowest, because easiest, are those devices in which the problem is simply solved by an adherent mark, such as a congenital peculiarity, a scar, a necklace, etc. Not very much above these is such a case as the identification of Orestes by his sister, which completes the mutual discovery in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. She is convinced by his knowledge of certain private occurrences in their childhood. To invent such occurrences well is not quite so easy as to give Orestes a strawberry-mark on his left arm: still the inventor is very much at large, and therefore deserves little credit. Homer does something better, when he leads up to the discovery of Ulysses at the feast of Alcinous by making him weep at the tale of Troy. This is better, because the device is not so obvious; in fact it resembles the best kind, but is less admirable, because the incident is visibly brought in for the purpose of recognition; it does not seem to arise independently out of the situation; and such an incident is more easily found. Superior still, and best of the lower division, is the discovery *by process of deductive reasoning* (ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ), of which we have an example in

[1] Cap. 16.

[2] See above, p. xlvi.

the *Choephori*[1]: "Some one *like* has arrived: there is no one *like* but Orestes: therefore Orestes has arrived[2]".

The author's reasons for giving this pre-eminence to recognitions 'by process of deduction' are sufficiently clear from the context and the nature of the case. Every dramatic recognition might be stated in syllogistic form. The kind which he rightly puts lowest in the scale of invention involves an argument (often very ill-founded) such as this: "This is a person possessing a necklace of golden scarabs: no one could possess such a necklace except my child: therefore this is my child". The kind which he puts highest is equally 'syllogistic' in substance. And of course Aristotle does not mean that, where the premisses are poorly invented or insufficient, it would be any improvement to expose the argument in detail. What he means is that, when the situation supposed is such, that it is natural and convenient to exhibit dramatically the process of reasoning upon which the recognition rests, then *caeteris paribus* the scene is likely to be exceptionally interesting; and that to invent and work out such a situation is difficult, and therefore admirable, to a degree only below the rare feat of getting the incidents of the drama to supply the premisses spontaneously, as it were, and without anything visibly put in for the sake of the recognition merely.

Now upon these principles, which are very good sense, what praise is due to the *Recognition* in the *Choephori*, as interpreted by Euripides and the modern commentators? If his interpretation is right, the scene is peculiar not in the fact that the recognition is an inference (for all recognitions are inferences), but in the futility of the premisses, and the way in which, by setting out the argument at length, the futility of the premisses is exhibited. A dramatist needs no skill to make one of his characters reason irrationally for a long time, and finally arrive at certainty without any reason at all. It needs no skill to imagine such evidences of a man's identity as that his foot is of the same size as his sister's, or that his hair is like hers, or that he possesses a piece of her

[1] And some others, which, being not now extant, and very briefly stated by the author, we can hardly criticize. His description of the scene in the *Choephori*, though perfectly correct and sufficient for those who know the play, would convey no adequate idea to those who did not.

[2] ὅμοιός τις ἐλήλυθεν· οὐδεὶς ὅμοιος ἀλλ' ἢ Ὀρέστης· Ὀρέστης οὖν ἐλήλυθεν. I agree with Mr Prickard (*Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Appendix A, note 32) that, if we are to fill up the elliptic ὅμοιος, "like *Orestes*" is better than "like *me* (Electra)". But in truth either would be right; and it is for this reason that the ambiguity is safe. "Like *us* (the family)" would be better than either; but no supplement is necessary. The Greek in itself signifies that the stranger is identified by conformity to a unique type: and this is enough.

work, or that he has made an oblation at his father's grave; or, having imagined these premisses, partly impossible and wholly insufficient, to put them together and append the unsupported conclusion. Among the recent expositors of the *Choephori*, though all of them are devoted to Aeschylus, there is, I believe, not one who praises the scene for its substance, not one who does not treat it as a regrettable error, requiring apology and forgiveness. Why then did Aristotle, with all the best Greek tragedy before him, select the scene for especial praise?

The explanation is, that he did not accept the interpretations of Euripides. Rightly understood, the scene well merits his commendation. It is "a recognition by process of inference" really deserving the name, one of those not common situations, difficult to find or to work out, in which the reasoning, upon which the discovery depends, can be naturally and conveniently set out at length in dramatic form, so as to give us pleasure in following the steps of it. Better even than the logical structure is the beauty of the living language in which it is clothed. But the logical structure is a vital element: and there is no logical structure, unless we assume, what Aeschylus supposed his audience to know, that the sons of Pelops were distinguished from the Achaean population around them, distinguished from their own Achaean wives and mothers, by certain minute but indelible marks of their Asiatic origin.

If it were asked, why he did not say so plainly beforehand, we might reply, that for all we know he did. The only possible place for such a statement would be in the prologue, when Orestes offered his lock: and the prologue is lost. But the error of Euripides makes it hard to suppose that the prologue contained any explicit statement on the subject: and even in the prologue, such a statement would have been irrelevant and in Aeschylus' days unnecessary. It was a grand advantage at the time, that the dramatist, composing for an audience uniformly educated and versed in the same stories which he employed, was dispensed from the necessity of such artificial intrusions upon the natural course of speech. In real life men do not tell each other what every one is supposed to know. On the stage they always do, because as things are now and long have been, the 'every one', who knows, does not include the audience. Aeschylus worked in a happier state; but he has paid for it, or rather we have paid for it, since.

I cannot conclude without saying, at the risk of incurring such ridicule as may be appropriate, with what profound regret I have written a word of censure upon Euripides. He wrought for humanity and civilization some of the most splendid and gallant services which

ever were rendered by man. His *Electra* is one of them. Had it not been for him and the group of men, by whom Athens was forced to think boldly, it is likely that no one would be thinking to purpose at this day. The question, whether he or Aeschylus is the more to be reverenced, may wait to be answered with the question, whether the sky or the earth is the nobler part of creation. But in a hapless moment, being but man, he assumed an office for which he was not fit; and in this he deserves no obedience.

On the use of the Scholia.

The *scholia* to the *Choephori* afford a good opportunity for recalling certain cautions, which easily drop out of sight. From the nature of the case the *scholia* are seldom noticed, except where they seem to contain valuable and necessary matter. It is therefore easy to forget what is the true average of their merit, and practically to apply a too favourable estimate, when the question arises, how much discretion and science should be attributed *a priori* to the author of some particular note. When the correctness of the MS. in a given place is impeached on the evidence of a *scholium*, the argument starts from an assumption about the scholiast. No one (it is assumed), and therefore not this writer, could have given this explanation, if he had this text to explain. We shall do well therefore occasionally to remind ourselves that, though the *scholia* doubtless contain fragments derived from critics better informed than we are, and fairly scientific in method, the bulk of them was written by persons of whom it is hard to say, what that error was, which they were not capable of committing; by persons not only deficient in taste, not only inferior to us in knowledge, but absolutely unscrupulous in their dealings with the principles of language. To the resolution with which these persons followed letters, as best they might, in a discouraging age, we are indebted for our possession of Aeschylus: but we should ill repay their devotion by forgetting the ignorance in which they had to work.

To represent the worse side of the *scholia*, a small selection, consisting mainly of such cases as there has been no occasion to notice elsewhere, is here put together for the convenience of those, who may not

have the whole at command. The specimens are worth a few minutes' curiosity for their own historical interest.

The first examples shall illustrate a common and important phenomenon, the perversion of sound material to the wrong use. In accounting for this, we have to remember the elusive form of those ancient *marginalia* which our scholiasts had to use, their excessive brevity, casual apposition, and want of directing marks.

At *vv.* 348—351

> τέκνων τε κελεύθοις
> ἐπιστρεπτὸν αἰῶνα κτίσσας
> πολύχωστον ἂν εἶχες
> τάφον

we have the note ζηλωτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν κεχωσμένον. This is of course absurd. We see at once that the two explanations belong, or belonged, to different words in the text, ζηλωτόν (*admired*) to ἐπιστρεπτόν, and ὑπὸ πολλῶν κεχωσμένον to πολύχωστον. What then induced the framer of the note to combine them? A mistake in application. He found ζηλωτόν in his margin, and erroneously referred it to πολύχωστον. He also found the other gloss, which, poor as it is, really did refer to πολύχωστον. And "never despairing", as Mr Sidgwick says in another place, he calmly proceeded to reconcile them, by supposing that κεχωσμένον was derived, not from χόω, χώννυμι *heap*, but from χώομαι *feel angry*, and meant *regarded with jealous indignation*, so as to be synonymous after a fashion with ζηλωτόν. Such was his skill in lexicology.

At *v.* 385 the MS. has the phrase ἐφυμνῆσαι πευκήεντα ὀλολυγμόν. Some one, possibly an Alexandrian, seems to have appended the interpretation λαμπρόν. Modern scholars, guided by science and trained perception, naturally suspect that πευκήεντα is an error, and may be strengthened in their suspicion by the gloss. But the mediaeval critic did not so reason. He accepted πευκήεντα for the text, *bright* for the meaning; and he simply looked for a connexion. Nor did he look long: πεύκη and *bright* together suggested 'torches'; and the sentence is something about 'singing a ὕμνος'. The commentator bethought him (what more obvious?) of the imperial or ecclesiastical 'feasts' to which he was accustomed, with their illuminations and music, and he just amplified the note into πανηγυρικόν, λαμπρόν, *festival, i.e. bright.*

Just below (*v.* 393) Electra speaks of ἀμφιθαλὴς Ζεύς. Those who cannot overlook the metre, which gives to ἀμφιθαλής here as elsewhere a short ᾰ, or are punctilious about the laws of word-formation, may

hesitate as to the sense of the epithet. But the scholiast saw a plain way. Why not read it *ἀμφιθᾱλής*, and explain it by *ὁ ποιήσων ἄμφω ἡμᾶς ἀναθηλῆσαι*, especially since, as people then knew, *θηλέω* itself might mean not only *bloom* but also *make to bloom*[1]?

Again a little further on (*v.* 401) comes this:

βοᾷ γὰρ λοιγὸν Ἐρινὺς
παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην
ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσαν ἐπ' ἄτῃ.

Some have thought this hard; indeed every modern scholar pronounces it unconstruable. But that is a weakness, arising from the rash presumption that *ἄτην ἐπ' ἄτῃ* must go closely together. If our ears were not so supersensitive, we should be content to remark that "the words are to be taken in this order—*βοᾷ Ἐρινὺς ἄτην ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσαν λοιγὸν ἐπ' ἄτῃ*".

An acquaintance with poets, even without much erudition, informs the modern reader that when transcendent happiness is described as *ὑπερβόρεος* (*v.* 372), there must be an allusion to something more delightful than the north wind; and he makes researches accordingly. But why, when nothing is more 'excessive' than the north wind itself? *ὑπερβόρεος τύχη· ἡ ἄγαν πνέουσα.*

These five notes, all occurring within fifty lines, show a palate not fastidious. But these are nothing to what may be found in the same area. At *v.* 384 Orestes concludes a prayer, that Zeus will send vengeance for Agamemnon, with the words *τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελεῖται.* The words are really obscure; but the only superficial difficulty lies in *ὅμως*, which is related to the context in a way not intelligible without some knowledge of poetical idiom. If it were *ὅπως*, the clause in itself would be easy: "and (grant) that it (the vengeance) may be accomplished for a parent". Thus much some one saw. Now if he had had the least tincture of science, his next step would have been to suggest that *ὅμως* was an error for *ὅπως*: and in fact, since the Renaissance, two or three critics have taken this road, though it has long been seen to be wrong. But our 'some one', luckily for us, had a trick more cunning than emendation. He saw in Aeschylus everywhere forms similar to those of his familiar Greek, but not exactly similar: and he did not pretend to know the laws, by which the variation was limited. He saw for example (*v.* 558), that Aeschylus wrote *εἰκώς*, where the sense required was *resembling*: and he "supposed" that it was for *ἐοικώς* (*οἶμαι ἀντὶ*

[1] See L. and Sc. *s.v.*

τοῦ ἐοικώς). But why Aeschylus omitted the ο, or whether he usually did so, were questions beyond his scope. Aeschylus did many strange things. And therefore if Aeschylus wrote ὅμως, where the sense pointed to ὅπως, the inference was that for some reason he preferred the word with a μ instead of a π. Accordingly 'some one' commented upon τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελεῖται thus:—ἵνα. τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἴσον τῷ πῖ μῦ φυλάχθῃ —*i.e.* "ὅμως is a conjunction, signifying ἵνα *that* [like ὅπως, but] the μ, which is similar to π [phonetically] and equivalent to it, should be retained" and not altered to π, as had apparently been proposed by some less robust philologist. This may surprise us: but we are not at the bottom yet. What are we to say of another 'some one', who, because in the text Orestes is speaking about his father, read and copied the note, expanding supposed contractions, thus—ἵνα τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἴσον τῷ πατρί μου φυλάχθῃ, *in order that similarity and equality may be preserved to my father*,—and left this nonsense to puzzle generations too well informed to see through it?

Style, accidence, syntax, everything was conceived in the same empiric and lawless fashion. An awkward negative is dismissed as "redundant": πλεονάζει ἡ οὐ (*v.* 661). *Do not forget* (μηδαμῶς λάθῃ) is turned, in spite of the plainest possible context, into "Let it not be unknown *to me*": and to get this inappropriate meaning, με is, without any warrant, supplied (*v.* 678). Such are the daily remedies; those for great occasions are more heroic. Thus ῥυθμὸν δάπεδον (*v.* 793) is translated by εὔτακτον καὶ μὴ τραχεῖαν πορείαν, *a regular and smooth progress*, without regard to the trifling fact that both words are substantives. If τίς ἂν ἰδεῖν; is suspected to mean *Who could see?*, grammar is satisfied by the remark that "ἰδεῖν is for ἴδοι" (*v.* 794). If κτάμενον *slain* (*v.* 802) must, to suit the commentator, be future in tense, it is so interpreted (ἀναιρεθησόμενον) without more ado. Nothing prevents λυτήριος (*liberative* or *liberating*) from taking the sense of ἐλεύθερος (*free*), if it seems convenient (*v.* 816). Because Aeschylus writes φρένες δύσαρκτοι (*v.* 1022), the expositor writes δυσχερῶς ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πειθόμενοι, quite ready to suppose that this time Aeschylus might have made φρήν masculine.

Such blighted ears may be gleaned, sometimes in handfuls, from almost every page; and the rest is mostly straw. Here and there is a grain to pick up, and very rarely a jewel. The utmost gratitude is due to the compilers. They did what they could, and they saved Aeschylus. But it is needful to weigh well their notions and methods, before we proceed to deal with the poet's text upon theories which assume, without

consideration, that scholiasts in perplexity could not possibly suppose ἔνδικος (*v.* 329) to be a neuter substantive, or παροῦσαν (*v.* 695) to signify *past*. The first hypothesis would have seemed to them perfectly natural; and the second would have passed at once with a tacit ἀντὶ τοῦ παριοῦσαν καὶ παρελθοῦσαν.

It is perhaps worth while also to remark, since inaccurate language is sometimes used on the subject, that in strictness a *scholium* proves no more than that the reading, to which it refers, was propounded or assumed by some interpreter. Whether the reading was anywhere found we cannot tell, much less infer it to be older or otherwise better certified than that existing in the MS. Sometimes indeed we can assert the contrary. For instance in *Cho.* 216 the text has an impossible ἐκπαγλουμένης, while the *scholium* assumes ἐκπαγλουμένην. Not only however is the accusative in itself unacceptable, but it does not account for the existing genitive, and never was (we may be sure) in any MS. from which M is descended. It is merely a superficial conjecture, if indeed it is not a blunder. I take this opportunity of mentioning this *scholium* (ἐκπάγλως θαυμάζουσαν), because in the note to the passage it has been unintentionally omitted.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ.

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.

Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῷ', ἐποπτεύων κράτη,
σωτὴρ γενοῦ μοι σύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένῳ·
ἥκω γὰρ ἐς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι.
τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ τῷδε κηρύσσω πατρὶ

On the scenic arrangements see the Introduction.—The MS., being mutilated, begins at *v.* 10. *vv.* 1—5 were restored by Canter from Aristoph. *Frogs* 1126, 1172, *vv.* 6—7 by Stanley from the schol. to Pindar, *Pyth.* 4. 145, and *vv.* 8—9 by Dindorf from a schol. to Eur. *Alc.* 784. *vv.* 1—3 are cited expressly as the opening, and *vv.* 4—5 in such a way as naturally to suggest that they were the next words. *vv.* 8—9 are cited as from the *Choephori* and were no doubt in this speech. *vv.* 6—7 are cited with the words Ὀρέστης φησὶ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι.

1. Hermes is invoked in three aspects, each bearing upon the prayer of Orestes for his aid, (1) as χθόνιος or ψυχοπομπός, as a god *of the lower world* and specially conductor of the dead; (2) as πατρῷος, *god of ancestry*, not only as being (with Zeus, Apollo, and others) one of the gods with whom the worship of ancestors was connected (Lysias, p. 104. 16) but also as specially interested in the house of Atreus (Hom. *Il.* 2. 72); and (3) as *president* or *overseer of victory*, an allusion to his functions as the god of *good-fortune* and *success* in general, particularly in contests of strength and of craft (see ἐναγώνιος, and *inf. vv.* 723, 865). See H. V. Macnaghten in *Journal of Philology*, XVI. 205.—For the reading πατρῷα, and the discussion of it by Aristophanes, see Appendix I. § 1.—**ἐποπτεύων**: lit. *witness of, i.e.* sanctioning by presence.—**κράτη**. For the plural, properly 'feats of victory', cf. *Supp.* 962 εἴη δὲ νίκη καὶ κράτη τοῖς ἄρσεσιν.

2—5 justify the foregoing appeal, σωτὴρ and σύμμαχος referring to ἐποπτεύων κράτη, γῆν and τύμβου to χθόνιε, πατρὶ to πατρῷε.

3. **ἥκω...κατέρχομαι.** Note that these are different tenses, and each appropriate: ἥκω is *present perfect*, the mere arrival is complete: κατέρχομαι is a *continuous* present; the κάθοδος or *return* from exile is in progress only, and will be complete when Orestes is restored to his rights. Aristophanes implies this distinction, in so far as his discussion is seriously applicable. See Appendix I.

κλύειν, ἀκοῦσαι 5

* * *

πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον,
τὸν δεύτερον δὲ τόνδε πενθητήριον

* * *

οὐ γὰρ παρὼν ᾤμωξα σόν, πάτερ, μόρον
οὐδ' ἐξέτεινα χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν νεκροῦ

* * *

τί χρῆμα λεύσσω; τίς ποθ' ἥδ' ὁμήγυρις 10
στείχει γυναικῶν φάρεσιν μελαγχίμοις
πρέπουσα; ποίᾳ ξυμφορᾷ προσεικάσω;
πότερα δόμοισι πῆμα προσκυρεῖ νέον;
ἢ πατρὶ τῷμῷ τάσδ' ἐπεικάσας τύχω
χοὰς φερούσας νερτέροις μειλίγμασιν; 15

5. **κλύειν, ἀκοῦσαι.** The idea is repeated for pathos and emphasis, but with an increase of meaning, **ἀκοῦσαι** signifying not merely *hear*, but *hearken, i.e. respond, comply*. See on *v.* 457.

6—7. He performs two religious duties, which he had been compelled to neglect, the offering of hair to *the dead* and to *the river-god* of Argos. The latter was done upon attaining manhood. See Hom. *Il.* 23. 141 (with the commentary of Eustathius) and schol. to Pindar, *Pyth.* 4. 145. The association of the customs here is interesting, and it is unfortunate that we have not the whole passage. Probably they were based upon the same notion, the wish to bring the person of the giver into permanent connexion with a source of help and strength, that is, in the one case with the deceased ancestor, in the other with the god of his country, supposed to be especially embodied in the life-giving river. At all events the customs were widely prevalent; see Prof. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, and on *v.* 179 *inf.* The offering to Inachus has been made already; that to Agamemnon Orestes now makes, by laying the lock upon the tomb.—**θρεπτήριον**, an offering *for nurture*, **πενθητήριον**, *for mourning*.

9. **ἐξέτεινα χέρα**: attitude of mourning and farewell. See Eur. *Alc.* 767, *Supp.* 772.—**ἐκφορᾷ** Dindorf: the dative (*at*) is perhaps better, though the accusative is not impossible; '*to* the carrying-forth of the corpse' standing for 'to the corpse as it went forth'.

11. **φάρεσιν...πρέπουσα**: *conspicuous* or *noticeable for their black raiment*. The fact that they are in mourning awakes attention.

12. 'To what occurrence am I to attach it by conjecture?', *i.e.* 'What is the cause?'. So *Ag.* 1123 **κακῷ τῳ προσεικάζω τάδε** 'I connect the words with ill' or 'see in them an evil signification', though there the notion of *likeness* is more prominent.

14. **τύχω**: *am I to hit? i.e.* 'must I, to be right, conjecture' etc.

14—15. 'Shall I suppose this libation-bearing to be an after-propitiation of my father?' **μειλίγμασιν** depends upon **ἐπεικάσας, πατρί** upon **μειλίγμασιν** in its verbal aspect. It is not necessary to take *μειλίγματα* strictly in a personal sense (though this could be justified, see on *Theb.* 1013): it is not **τάσδε** (*these women*) but **τάσδε χοὰς φερούσας** (*the bringing of libations by these women*) which is 'likened

οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλο· καὶ γὰρ Ἠλέκτραν δοκῶ
στείχειν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πένθει λυγρῷ
πρέπουσαν. ὦ Ζεῦ, δός με τίσασθαι μόρον
πατρός, γενοῦ δὲ σύμμαχος θέλων ἐμοί.
Πυλάδη, σταθῶμεν ἐκποδών, ὡς ἂν σαφῶς
μάθω γυναικῶν ἥτις ἥδε προστροπή.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἰαλτὸς ἐκ δόμων ἔβην στρ. α'.
χοὰς προπομπὸς ὀξύχειρι σὺν κτύπῳ.

Readings of M. 23. συγκυ· ωι corr. to συνκύπτω.

to' or 'conjectured to be' a propitiation.—**νεοτέρους**, which is strictly comparative, combines the signification of (1) *later* and (2) *lower*. The first conjecture of Orestes is that the funeral ceremony is for a *recent* death (*v.* 13). As compared with offerings made at or immediately after a funeral, offerings made to a person long deceased, like Agamemnon, might be called *νέρτερα* for two reasons, either (1) because in themselves *later*, *subsequent*, for which sense compare *ὑπέρτατος earliest* (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 22), or certainly (2), by transference of epithet, because made to one absolutely departed and belonging to the *νέρτεροι*, which, in the primitive view, a person whose body was yet among the living could hardly be said to do. It is reasonable to suppose that the epithet was or had been technically used for such offerings.—*νεοτέροις μειλίγματα* Casaubon, *i.e.* 'which propitiate the dead', in app. to **χοάς**. The objections to this are (1) the construction *ἐπεικάζω φερούσας*, instead of *φέρειν*, 'I conjecture them to be bringing', which though conceivable, on the analogy of Soph. *El.* 663 *δάμαρτα τήνδ' ἐπεικάζων τόχῳ κείνου*, is more peculiar and irregular for Greek than English analogies could suggest; (2) the case of *νεοτέρους*, which should then naturally be *νεοτέρων*, as Dr Wecklein perceives and is accordingly disposed to read. In *Pers.* 613 *χοὰς φέρουσ' ἅπερ νεκροῖσι μειλικτήρια* the dative is natural; here it would be confusing.—To construe *μειλίγμασιν* with *φερούσας* ('bring for propitiation') is not admissible. This meaning would require Casaubon's conjecture; but there is no proof that the text is incorrect.

17. **πένθει λυγρῷ πρέπουσαν**: *distinguished* from the rest *by the bitterness of her grief*. Cf. *Theb.* 117 *πρέποντες στρατοῦ δορυσσόοις σαγαῖς* and note there.

18. 'The sight of Electra's grief raises in Orestes the desire of vengeance'. Klausen.

21. **προστροπή**, abstract for concrete, *suppliant company*.

22. Orestes and Pylades retire. Enter Electra and the chorus, female slaves of the house. Nothing is said of their origin, which is, in the circumstances, a strong reason for not supposing them, as some have done, to be Trojans.—**ἰαλτός**: *sent*, by Clytaemnestra, not of my own will.

23. **χοὰς προπομπός**. The verbal adjective is treated as a participle (*προπέμπουσα*) with object accusative. So *φόξιμος able to escape* in Soph. *Ant.* 786 etc.—**κτύπῳ** or **κόπῳ** (Jacobs)? The MS. is indecisive: **ὀξύχειρι**, which must refer to the sharp *sound* of the blows, favours *κτύπῳ*: and see *v.* 426. The scholia (*ἀντὶ τοῦ κοπετῷ—ὅπως κόψωμαι*) are rather for *κόπῳ*: but they cannot be trusted in a matter of precision.

πρέπει παρηὶς φοίνισσ' ἀμυγμοῖς
ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμῳ
(δι' αἰῶνος δ' ἰγγμοῖσι βόσκεται κέαρ)·
λινοφθόροι δ' ὑφασμάτων

26. διαγμοῖσι.

24. **πρέπει ... φοίνισσα**: *is marked with red.* For the metre see Appendix II.—On the rather curious history of the tearing of the skin as part of the ceremony of mourning see Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griech. u. Röm.*, Cap. IV. The prohibition of Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 21 cited here by Wecklein) seems to have been entirely ineffective, to judge by the representations on Attic funeral-vases.

26. **δ' ἰνγμοῖσι** Canter.—"**δι'...κέαρ** is a parenthetic remark, attached to **νεοτόμῳ**, to which word **δι' αἰῶνος** stands in antithesis; 'The external signs of grief are new, though the inner and secret feeling (see *v.* 80) has been there all along'. So in *Sept.* 730 the clause **αἰῶνα δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει** stands in antithesis to **ὠκύποινον**" Wecklein.

27—31. This is a curious example of what we might call the Cyclopian or Titanic construction characteristic of Aeschylean grammar; the component ideas are simply piled up without exact cohesion. 'There is a loud rending of linen, *made by* the beating of the robes upon my breast in the act of mourning'. Such is the sense; but instead of subordinating one conception to the other, as in this English, the Greek places the 'rending' (**λακίδες ἔφλαδον**) and the beating (**πέπλοι πεπληγμένοι**) side by side 'in apposition'. The principle is the same as that of the so-called 'pendent nominative', on which see *Ag.* 996; as would be more clear, if we had not **πεπληγμένων** but **πεπληγμένοι**. But where an adj. or partic. refers to such a compound phrase as **στολμοὶ πέπλων** (=**πέπλοι**), it may be attached by inflexion to either word: see **νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον** Soph. *Ant.* 794, and n. on *Ag.* 159.—**λινοφθ. ὑφασμάτων** lit. 'linen-destructive of tissue' *i.e. destroying woven linen.*—**ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν**: the vestments are personified throughout, as if, in the blows, they felt the shock of the grief.—**ἀγελάστοις.** This epithet, at first sight feeble, is to be explained by the fondness of Greek poets, and of Aeschylus especially, for description *by contrast.* A figure is suggested, and the inapplicable parts of it are excluded by contrary epithets. Thus dust is an **ἄναυδος ἄγγελος** (*Theb.* 83), the sword a **χρηματοδαίτης** (*arbitrator*) **πικρός** (*Theb.* 716) etc. So here the words **λακίς** and **ἔφλαδον** (cf. **παφλάζω**) suggested to the ear of Aeschylus the sound of *laughter* rather than of *lamentation;* and he makes a fresh point by correcting this suggestion with the contrary epithet **ἀγέλαστος.**—**τὸ ἐξῆς, οἱ δὲ στολισμοὶ τῶν ὑφασμάτων πρὸς τοῖς στέρνοις λινοφθόροι λακίδες ἐρράγησαν** (*burst into tatters*): schol. This view, making **στολμοί** subject and **λακίδες** secondary predicate, supposes, without necessity, an unnatural arrangement of the words.—It may be questioned whether **λακίδες** is *abstract* or *concrete;* but in fact the two are so constantly interchanged and confounded by Aeschylus, that in such a place he would be unconscious of the distinction.—**πρόστερνοι** suggested by the corrector (m) of M for **πρόστελνοι.** It is not to be taken as certain; we have no proof that **πρόστελνος** is not a true word, though the meaning is now beyond conjecture. No reliance can be placed on the paraphrase of the schol. **πρὸς τοῖς στέρνοις**, which may be a mere guess at the sense of **πρόστελνοι** or **πρόστελνοι**: "**τὸ λ ἀντὶ τοῦ ρ**" would have perfectly satisfied a mediæval commentator.

λακίδες ἔφλαδον ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν
πρόστερνοι στολμοὶ
πέπλων ἀγελάστοις
ξυμφοραῖς πεπληγμένων.
τορὸς γὰρ φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ ἀντ. α'.
δόμων ὀνειρόμαντις, ἐξ ὕπνου κότον
πνέων, ἀωρόνυκτον ἀμβόαμα
μυχόθεν ἔλακε περὶ φόβῳ,
γυναικείοισιν ἐν δώμασιν βαρὺς πίτνων.

29. πρόσστελνοι. 35. ἔλαχε.

32—36. "The intention of the whole passage is merely to express by a personification the shrieks of Clytemnestra [*v.* 534]: but as her alarm was prophetic of her fate, the imagery throughout is oracular" Conington. Hence come **φοῖβος**, **ὀνειρόμαντις**, **μυχόθεν** (which refers directly to the inner women's chamber of the house, but figuratively to the oracular *adytum*, such as the sanctuary and subterranean grotto at Delphi, commonly called **μυχός**, *v.* 953), and even **ἀωρόνυκτον**, a contrasted epithet of the kind mentioned in the previous note, for the great oracles could be consulted only at regular times.—It appears not improbable, since the purpose of these details is to connect the dream with the impending vengeance of *Delphi* (see on *v.* 39), that there was an analogy between the circumstances of the dream and those of the divine command. It has been noticed in the Introduction that, in the story of Aeschylus, Orestes did not, so far as appears, consult Apollo on a project of revenge, or conceive such a project independently at all. The special injunction came originally from the god, and may well have been given, through the prophetess, in some such way as this parallel would suggest (see on *v.* 270).

32. **γὰρ**. **δὲ** Lachmann; see App. II. —**φοῖβος**. I think, though it is of little importance, that, as this word is here generic (cf. **βάκχος** and **Βάκχος**), we should write it without the capital. It signifies *an inspiring power*, making prophetic the person (here Clytaemnestra) into whom it enters. Whatever may be the etymology of the name **Φοῖβος**, or the true origin of its application to Apollo, it was in fact associated, as usage proves, with *inspiring possession*, and practically had this meaning. Such a use was probably far older than the identification of the **φοῖβος** at Delphi with Apollo, the invader and appropriator of that sanctuary; and there is even some evidence that anciently the feminine **φοίβη**, as well as **φοῖβος**, was used at Delphi (see *Eum.* 7), just as in the case of Bacchic inspiration the possessor was **βάκχος**, the possessed **βάκχος** or **βάκχη**. —**ὀρθόθριξ**: *making the hair stand up*, a phaenomenon of divine possession, as well as of terror; see Verg. *Aen.* 6. 48.—On the reading **ὀρθόθρῳξ φόβος** see Appendix I. § 2.—**δόμων ὀνειρόμαντις** limits the figure; the inspiring power was exercised *through a dream* and *in a private house*, in these respects otherwise than as that of the great **Φοῖβος** commonly was.—**περὶ φόβῳ**: *for* (because of) *terror*. So *Pers.* 697 **σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι σέθεν ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβει**. The 'terror' and 'cry' are literally those of Clytaemnestra, who is figuratively identified with the **φοῖβος**.—**γυναικείοισι** and therefore open to alarm —**ἐν δώμασι...πίτνων**: *breaking upon*: so of a loud and sudden outcry, **οἷος κέλαδος ἐν δόμοις πίτνει** Eur. *Hipp.* 576.

κριταὶ δὲ τῶνδ' ὀνειράτων
θεόθεν ἔλακον ὑπέγγυοι,
μέμφεσθαι τοὺς γᾶς
νέρθεν περιθύμως
τοῖς κτανοῦσί τ' ἐγκοτεῖν.

37. δὲ omitted. 38. ἔλαχον.

37. δὲ: inserted by Arnald.

38. θεόθεν ἔλακον ὑπέγγυοι: 'uttered from the gods to whom they are responsible.' θεόθεν belongs primarily to ἔλακον (Con., Sidgwick and others), but the explanation of ὑπέγγυοι is to be supplied from it.—The rendering of θεόθεν ὑπέγγυοι given as an alternative in the schol. ἐκ θεῶν ἠσφαλισμένοι τὴν μαντείαν, 'warranted' or 'made sure by the gods in their interpretation', forces the sense of ὑπέγγυος, which means properly 'liable to (the forfeiture of) a pledge' and so generally 'liable, responsible'.—The reason for insisting thus on the guarantee of the interpreters is that the interpretation is *misleading*, false as well as true, and that this whole character of it, the falsehood as well as the truth, is no human error or deception, but calculated for the divine purpose. See next note.—ἔλακον Turn., ἔλαχον M.

39—41. It is important to observe, with regard to the dream, that this 'interpretation' is a true and scientific piece of mantic art, but nevertheless essentially and fatally *wrong*. Clytaemnestra dreamed that she gave birth to a snake which, when put to her breast, wounded her (*v.* 524 *foll.*). Now a snake was the regular symbol of things subterranean, and especially of the *grave* (see on *v.* 926); it pointed therefore to danger from the *dead* (οἱ γᾶς νέρθεν). The interpreters, fixing upon this, took the birth of the snake to be *metaphorical*, and supposed it to signify merely that the danger threatened Clytaemnestra as the person who had *produced* or *caused* the death (τοῖς κτανοῦσι). They accordingly advised her to appease the spirit of Agamemnon. They did not think of danger from Orestes, supposed to be far away and helpless, and therefore did not see that the birth was meant *literally*; still less did they foresee that Orestes, though alive, was to execute his vengeance by pretending to be *dead* (see *v.* 885 τὸν ζῶντα καινεῖν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω), and in this way, as well as by representing his dead father, corresponded to the symbol of the snake. Least of all did they observe that, as the casual expressions of the chorus have just indicated, the minor circumstances of the warning pointed to danger *from Delphi*. In fact the dream was κάρτα μάντις (*v.* 928), far more significant than they supposed. This is just one of those providential schemes in which Aeschylus and his instructors delighted. If the advisers of Clytaemnestra had been suffered to read the warning fully, Orestes must have been detected and lost. But though miraculously exact, it was framed and intended to mislead; and the only effect of it is, that Electra is sent by Clytaemnestra herself to Agamemnon's grave, and there quietly and without suspicion *meets Orestes*, a thing which, but for this divine assistance, must have been hard to effect. And since the warning conveyed by the imperfect interpretation is itself inspired and true in fact, as far as it goes, the triumph of "Phoebus the true" is (according to Delphic doctrine) absolutely immaculate and complete. —With regard to the dream, as elsewhere, we remark that Aeschylus assumes the story, in all its parts and bearings, to be known, as no doubt it was, to the au-

τοιάνδε χάριν ἀχάριν ἀπότροπον κακῶν, στρ. β'.
ἰὼ γαῖα μαῖα,
μωμένα μ' ἰάλλει
δύσθεος γυνά· φοβοῦ-
μαι δ' ἔπος τόδ' ἐκβαλεῖν·
τί γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδῳ;

44. μιλλεῖ. 46. ἐκβάλλειν. 47. λυγρὸν.

dience, and makes his performers speak as they probably would in the supposed circumstances, not as they have to do in the ordinary conditions of the drama. To talk of an interpretation without mentioning what was interpreted is perfectly natural: indeed the prevailing stiffness of stage-dialogue is due to the fact that such natural phaenomena of speech can rarely be imitated. But unless the audience knew all beforehand, the arrangement adopted would be practically unintelligible.

42. **τοιάνδε**: *such*, that is, corresponding to the dream and interpretation.—**χάριν**: *atonement*.—**ἄχαριν** because offered by the murderess. On the metre see Appendix II.

43. **ἰὼ γαῖα μαῖα**. They address 'Mother Earth' in the name and as the deputies of Clytaemnestra; because it is to the earth that the libations are to be given, and through her they are to be conveyed to the dead. See *v.* 164, ἔχει γαπότους χοὰς πατήρ, and *Pers.* 624, γαπότους τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς, where the function of earth as medium is marked by the word προπέμψω.—Nevertheless it is also right to say (Paley, Sidgwick, Wecklein) that ἰὼ γαῖα μαῖα is an exclamation of horror. It becomes such in the very act of uttering it, since, as they explain, 'Mother Earth' was especially insulted by the act of the murderess (see *vv.* 47 πέδῳ, 64 χθονός).

44. **μ' ἰάλλει** Pauw.—**μωμένα χάριν**, 'intending' the offering, *i.e.* to make it.

46. **ἔπος τόδε**: the appeal to earth, which they 'fear to utter', because, coming from Clytaemnestra, it is impious. Since the whole rite, which they are to perform, will be a practical, if not an actual, repetition of this appeal (see *Pers.* 632, 643), it is natural that, though they have uttered the words once, they should still use language pointing to the future.—Difficulty has arisen here from an incomplete interpretation of *v.* 43. If ἰὼ γαῖα μαῖα were *merely* an exclamation of horror, this sentence could not point to it. Hence some, with the schol., refer ἔπος to δύσθεος γυνά. But then ἐκβαλοῦσα or ἐκβάλλουσα would be natural, if not necessary (Sidgwick), since they have no reason to say the words again. Moreover this particular phrase is scarcely more offensive to Clytaemnestra than the language which they hold throughout the scene; and it appears (see the Introduction) that, from the position of the tomb, they do not apprehend observation from the house.—Others again take ἔπος to be some prayer which is to accompany the libations. But ἔπος τόδε must refer to a definite phrase (see on *Theb.* 566).

47. **λύτρον** (Canter): means of *redemption* or *atonement*.

ib. **πέδῳ**. Dindorf writes **πέδοι**, the regular Attic locative. But since Attic poetry exhibits similar datives of *direction*, where we have no locative to replace, the change is unsafe. Since λύτην πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις βαλεῖς (Soph. *Phil.* 67) was admissible, we cannot condemn πεσεῖν πέδῳ. It is however true that as between πέδοι and πέδῳ our MSS. are of little or no authority.

ἰὼ πάνοιζυς ἑστία,
ἰὼ κατασκαφαὶ δόμων.
ἀνήλιοι βροτοστυγεῖς
δνόφοι καλύπτουσι δόμους
δεσποτῶν θανάτοισι.
σέβας δ' ἄμαχον, ἀδάματον, ἀπόλεμον τὸ πρὶν ἀντ. β'.
δι' ὤτων φρενύς τε
δαμίας περαῖνον
νῦν ἀφίσταται. φοβεῖ-
ται δέ τις· τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν,
τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον.
ῥοπὴ δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ δίκας
(ταχεῖα τοῖς μὲν ἐν φάει,
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ σκότου

53. ἀδάμαντον. 54. φρένες.

52. **θανάτοισι** : causal dative.

53. They pass from the gloom within the house to the terror and suspicion without. The tyrants are feared, but the 'invincible majesty' of the lawful monarch is departed.—**ἀδάμαντον** M, **ἀδάματον** Hermann ; see Appendix II.

54. **φρενύς** Victorius.

55. **περαῖνον** : 'penetrating everywhere into the ears and hearts of the people': *περαίνειν*, properly *to go to the end*, has here the construction, though it includes much more than the sense, of *περᾶν to pass*. Wecklein cites Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 28, *περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον πλόον*.—Mr Sidgwick renders *περαῖνον* by *working, accomplishing its end* (and *διά* apparently *by means of*). This is possible; but the analogy to *περᾶν* is strongly suggested by the sound of the words.

56—58. 'The sense of majesty is departed; yet men tremble; for prosperity is ever worshipped' (Conington and the majority, rightly).—Wecklein punctuates and explains quite differently: *φοβεῖται δέ τις τόδ' εὐτυχεῖν (τὸ δ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον)* : 'many are now afraid to enjoy the pleasures of royalty, which formerly seemed to men superhuman'. —**τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδε** : the effect of this break and resumption is to throw an emphasis, pathetic and half-contemptuous, upon *τὸ εὐτυχεῖν* : *Prosperity! That is* etc.

57. **δέ**. Prose would make the connexion more clear by *γάρ*.

59—73. 'But Justice watches (though she is not always swift, but sometimes waits, and sometimes the criminal even dies unpunished); and the pollution of murder is irremoveable'. The general sense is clear, though there is a certain intentional obscurity in the language. The exact reading of *v.* 64 will slightly affect the relation of the clauses, but is not important.

59. 'Justice watches poised'. The figure suggested is that of a bird of prey. The 'incline of justice' means 'justice inclined and ready to descend'.—**ἐπισκοπεῖ** is better taken in its primitive and literal sense than in that of *visiting*.

60—63. 'Coming swiftly upon some in the day, though sometimes the punishment bides in the twilight and grows, and sometimes darkness takes the offender ere aught is done'. This reservation suggests itself naturally in the present case, when justice has already been long

μένει, χρονίζοντα βρύει,
τοὺς δ' ἄκραντος ἔχει νύξ),
δι' αἱμά τ' ἐκποθὲν ὑπὸ χθονὸς τροφοῦ στρ. γ'

62. ἄχει (corr. to ἄχη) βρύει. 64. αἵματ' ἔκποθεν.

delayed, and the criminals are still in apparent strength and prosperity.—That it is in form a digression or parenthesis is shown (1) by the dative *τοῖς* in *v.* 60, which must be accusative if dependent on *ἐπισκοπεῖ*, and (2) by the manner in which the sentence is continued, with *τε*, at *v.* 64. These readings therefore agree and defend each other. The paraphrase in the *schol.* (see App. I. § 3) is no evidence for *τούς*. It is too loose to prove anything, and the writer would simply have said, if pressed, as another schol. actually does, that *τοῖς* is used 'for *τούς*'.—**ταχεῖα τοῖς μὲν**: 'swift to some', *i.e.* 'in their case', the common 'dative of the person concerned'.—**φάει...μεταιχμίῳ σκότου... νύξ**. It is simplest to take the stages of *day*, *twilight*, *darkness* as typical merely of three possibilities in punishment, *soon*, *late*, and (in this life) *never*. (So, for example, Sidgwick.) At any rate this is part of the meaning. Others (as Wecklein) refer them rather, or also, to three varieties of crime, *manifest*, *concealed for a time*, *concealed to the end*. The vague words certainly admit this; but we should observe on the contrary that, in the case in view, the murder of Agamemnon, concealment is out of the question, nor is 'concealment' plainly mentioned anywhere in the passage.—**τὰ δὲ...νύξ**. These clauses take the place of adjectives parallel to *ταχεῖα*, as in the case noted at *v.* 26.—**τὰ δὲ...βρύει**: see Appendix I. § 3.—**ἄκραντος νύξ**: *darkness without accomplishment*, *i.e.* death before punishment; beyond death the speakers do not look.

64. The sentence is resumed from *v.* 59, with **τε** rightly, because the two facts, that 'Justice regards' and that 'murder is indelible', are joined as grounds of hope.—On the metre see Appendix II.

64—68. 'Because earth drinks the blood, the murderer becomes utterly diseased and enfeebled'. This was originally no mere figure, though perhaps it is here to be so taken. The belief that earth, polluted and insulted by murder, becomes poisoned to the murderer, and thus through his food punishes him directly, was immensely ancient and wide-spread. The sentence upon Cain expresses the same thought almost in the same terms, "And now thou art cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength" (*Genesis* iv. 11, 12). The same penalty awaited those who hindered Earth of her revenge, and was supposed to be inflicted by the Eumenides, who were her daughters and succeeded to her functions (*Eum.* 783, 804); and it also awaited those who, being bound to assist the vengeance, neglected their duty (*inf.* 276).—That this is the meaning and construction is shown (1) by the grammar; for if *vv.* 64—65 be taken as a separate continuous sentence, and *vv.* 66—69 as another sentence, the want of a conjunction at *v.* 66 is intolerable, and we must change the text (**διαλγὴς δ' ἅτα** Schütz): and (2) by the sense; for surely it could not be said that the blood is *clotted* or *solidified* (**πέπηγε**), and does not run away, *because* it is swallowed. On the contrary, the metaphor of *drinking* suggests that it *does* run away, vanishes, and is consumed, a suggestion which, being contrary to the intention, is forthwith denied and corrected. The sense therefore, as well as the grammar, shows that *v.* 65 is parenthetic.

(τίτας φόνος πέπηγεν οὐ διαρρύδαν) 65
διαλγὴς ἄτη
διαφέρει τὸν αἴτιον
παναρκέτας νόσου βρύειν.

65. **τίτας φόνος**: 'avenger blood', *i.e.* blood which demands vengeance. It must be remembered, that in the primeval conception from which the language here is borrowed, not all blood, nor human blood always, was τίτας, but only the blood of kin. See on *Theb.* 667, and *Genesis* above cited, where the words *thy brother* (*i.e.* kinsman) mark the original limitation. It may be suspected that the quaint expression τίτας φόνος is much older than Aeschylus, and the whole verse perhaps a quotation or imitation.

67: *a plague runs penetrating through the sinner, and breeds in every part disease.* **διαφέρει** does not here admit precisely any one of the senses to which it is limited elsewhere and in established prose, so that we must seek the meaning in the formation and in general analogy. The context shows, I think, that φέρειν is used in its intransitive sense, as a verb of motion, *to go, course, run, or rush*, and that the acc. (τὸν αἴτιον) is analogous to the acc. of space with such verbs as δύεναι, διαβαίνειν, so that we might render the phrase in prose form by φέρεται διὰ τοῦ αἰτίου. Of this intransitive φέρειν, expelled in common usage by φέρεσθαι, we have remains both in the simple verb (Herod. 8. 87, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ: L. and Sc. *s.v.*, where however note that the citation from Aeschines is erroneous, φέρων being transitive), and in the compounds (*e.g.* καταφέρειν retains it in the locution καταφέρει ὁ ἥλιος), and even in διαφέρειν itself (as in θεοὺς σέβων βίον διήνεγκε *he passed piously through life* Eur. *Hel.* 10, εἰ διοίσει νύκτα τήνδ' ἐς αὔριον *if he wins through this night*, *Rhes.* 600, etc., which are rightly classed as intransitive, though probably the transitive sense, *sustain*, has also helped to recommend them). The present use may have been familiar in the antique poetry of medicine, but would be clear enough, even if it was not. Note that the preposition echoes that of δι-αλγής and leads up naturally to παναρκέτας κτλ.—*Differt auctorem, i.e. differt auctori poenam* (Hermann) is neither defensible by analogy nor indicated by the context.—διασπαράσσει (schol.) is formally defensible, but inappropriate in sense.—**παναρκέτας νόσου βρύειν**: 'inexhaustible in producing disease', *i.e.* 'which will go on spreading till it overcomes'. **παναρκέτας**, a unique word, but unexceptionable, may be either nom. (παναρκέτης, cf. τίτας, *v.* 65) or gen. (πανάρκετος). Compounds with the feminine termination in *-a* occur in *Theb.* 105 (εὐφιλήταν), *Pers.* 599 (περικλύστα), etc.: and, as Conington remarks, παναρκέτου νόσου might be avoided for euphony. If we follow the common opinion in supposing the subject of βρύειν to be τὸν αἴτιον ('so that he is full of disease'), then παναρκέτας must be genitive: and in favour of this is cited Eur. *frag.* 1071, ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἕλκεσι βρύων. But there is much to be said for referring the adj. to ἄτη, an alternative which has not been sufficiently considered. For (1) in the phrase 'all-sufficing (inexhaustible) to teem (produce) disease', the connexion of the infinitive is close and natural, whereas, if it depends on διαφέρει τὸν αἴτιον, the connexion is loose, remote, and not easily apprehended: (2) the hearer must naturally in the first instance refer παναρκέτας to the preceding ἄτη, and will not change his opinion, when νόσου follows. If we were meant to think of the irregular genitive, the poet would have written νόσου παναρκέτας. In itself the phrase ἄτη βρύει νόσου is cer-

οἴγοντι δ' οὔτι νυμφικῶν ἐδωλίων ἄκος, πόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ βαίνοντες τὸν χερομυσῆ φόνον καθαίροντες ἴθυσαν μάτην. ἀντ. γ'. 70

72. χαιρομυσῆ. 73. loῦσαν ἄτην.

tainly unobjectionable; ἄτη is the plant, νόσος the flower and fruit.—For the application of ἀρκεῖν to *supply* cf. διαρκής, διαρκέω, παναρκής (*inexhaustible*, as Conington, not *impartial*, as L. and Sc.).—As to the religious belief see further on *v.* 277 foll.

69—73. 'And this destroying pollution can never be cleansed away'.—On the metre see Appendix II.

69. οἴγοντι...ἄκος. 'As virginity cannot be restored, so' etc.: an example of *the irreparable*, joined to that which it illustrates by τε.—οἴγοντι and ἐδωλίων are metaphorical, ἄκος literal. Note that οἴγοντι is purely adjectival and timeless (*the opener*), not of course a strict 'continuous present' tense. The masculine is used merely because it is the gender of generality; the description is not meant for one sex more than the other, and the schol. τῷ ἐπιβάντι is therefore not quite accurate. The objection made to οἴγοντι, that it applies only to 'opening from within' is therefore irrelevant; neither is it correct (see Eur. *frag.* 287. 8).—I am glad to invoke the authority of Conington for retaining οἴγοντι: θιγόντι, the prevalent correction of Scaliger, could scarcely be accepted, even if it were given by the MS. Such phrases as ἄθικτος, θιγεῖν κόρης, etc. are perfectly natural, but no evidence to support such a figure as 'touching a chamber': οἴγοντι and ἐδωλίων require and defend each other. It is noticeable that Dr Wecklein, who gives θιγόντι, seeks a new and wholly different sense for the passage (see Appendix I. § 4).

70. πόροι. We have no word completely covering πόρος, which means (1) *expedient*, (2) *journey* (and *road*), (3) *river*, and is here used with all its suggestions, so that adequate translation is impossible. If we translate by *streams*, as καθαίροντες requires, we must alter or force ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ βαίνοντες. But this accident of English is no argument against the genuineness of the latter words. On the contrary it is an argument in favour of them that they are adapted to one aspect of the Greek πόρος.

70—73: *even so all waters, joining together to cleanse from blood the polluted hand, may strive in vain.*—ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ *together*, literally 'of one going'. Greek often uses the prepositions of origin (ἐκ, ἀπό) where we prefer those of position or direction; as in ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου *on a sudden*, ἐξ ἀφανοῦς *in a doubt*, ἐκ μιᾶς χερός *with one hand*, etc. The schol. εἰς ἓν συνερχόμενοι is substantially right.—βαίνοντες: *moving*. The objection raised against this word might be just if the subject were ποταμοί, πηγαί, ῥοαί, ὕδατα or the like. But πόρος means properly *going*, *way*, *motion*, from which *expedient*, *road*, *river* etc. are all derived. As we have no word precisely coincident, we cannot render πόροι βαίνοντες exactly in natural English; but in Greek it is not only natural, but scarcely even metaphorical. The expression ῥυτοὶ πόροι appears to have been technically applied to waters of purification (*Eum.* 455); and this, rather than *rivers*, is its meaning here, so far as we can properly restrict to one meaning a word meant to combine various suggestions.——τὸν χερομυσῆ (strictly 'the hand-polluted *man*') depends both on βαίνοντες, as an acc. of

ἐμοὶ δ' (ἀνάγκαν γὰρ ἀμφίπτολιν ἐπ.
θεοὶ προσήνεγκαν· ἐκ γὰρ οἴκων
πατρῴων δούλιόν μ' ἐσάγον αἶσαν)
δίκαια καὶ μὴ δίκαια
πρέποντ' ἀρχὰς βίου

76. μ' omitted.

place or direction (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1371 ὀδύνα με βαίνει), and on καθαίροντες, which also governs φόνον (*from blood*). For the double acc. with καθαίρειν, correctly explained in the schol., see L. and Sc. *s. v.*, and cf. ἀφαιρεῖν. That this (and not τὸν χερομυσῆ φόνον) is the construction, is shown by the article, which Aeschylus very rarely uses, especially in lyrics, unless it is indispensable to the sense.—**ἴθυσαν**: *strive at it, attempt it.* For this metaphorical use of ἰθύειν see Hom. *Od.* 11. 591, τῶν ὀπὸτ' ἰθύσειε... μάσασθαι, *ib.* 22. 408, ἰθυσέν ῥ' ὀλολύξαι, and L. and Sc. *s. v.* Here the object (*to cleanse him*) is supplied by the context. Observe that ἴθυσαν, by its literal sense (*to go towards*), continues the metaphor of ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ βαίνοντες.—The tense is the 'gnomic' aorist. **χερομυσῆ** Porson, **ἴθυσαν** (a brilliant correction) Kirchhoff, **μάτην** Scaliger.

For some further remarks on the whole passage (59—73) and in particular on Dr Wecklein's exposition, see Appendix I. § 4.

77—81. 'However, we as slaves have no choice but to obey our mistress, right or wrong, and hide our feelings as we may'.

74. **ἀνάγκαν ἀμφίπτολιν**: either (1) 'subjugation along with my people', literally 'city-embracing', *i.e.* the hostile storm and capture, which made them slaves (Conington, Sidgwick): or (2) 'necessity to change my country' (Hermann, Wecklein). Neither is quite satisfactory. The second is more to the point, since what is 'right' in one place may be 'wrong' in another, whereas the fact, that slaves must obey, is not affected by the particular circumstances of their capture. But it seems very doubtful whether ἀμφίπολις ἀνάγκη could mean 'duplicis sedis necessitas'. A person who belongs to two cities, is ἀμφίπολις, and similarly subjection to two cities might be an ἀμφίπολις ἀνάγκη. But this does not bring us to Hermann's interpretation; so I should prefer the other, under reserve.

76. **δούλιόν μ'** Conington; **δουλίαν** Blomfield, leaving **με** to be supplied. The pronoun is desirable, to make it clear that **αἶσαν** is not a direct object, but depends on the preposition.

77—79. **δίκαια...αἰνέσαι**. *Right and wrong alike, in those who usurp the control of my life, it is my duty to approve.* **δίκαια, μὴ δίκαια**, and **φερομένων** are substantival: in prose this would be marked by articles τὰ δίκαια, τῶν...φερομένων.—**ἐμοὶ πρέποντά (ἐστι)...φερομένων αἰνέσαι**: 'are proper for me to approve *in* those who usurp' etc. The gen. **φερομένων** belongs to the class of which many examples will be found in Kühner, *Greek Grammar*, § 417, n. 9; verbs of approval and disapproval take, together with the common object-accusative, a genitive of the person *in* whom the object is observed, *e.g.* Xen. *Ages.* 8. 4, τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησιλάου, τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ξενίαν, Thuc. 1. 81, τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν. The use is akin in origin to the partitive. Here the use of a form implying critical judgment imports a certain irony. A free mind will praise this in a man, and

βίᾳ φερομένων αἰνέσαι, πικρὸν φρενῶν
στύγος κρατούσῃ. δακρύω δ' ὑφ' εἱμάτων, 80
ματαίοισι δεσποτᾶν

blame that: the slave must approve in his master both this and that, everything alike, to the extent at least, which **αἰνεῖν** signifies, of compliance. There is the same bitterness in **πρέποντα**: to the slave the will of his master, right or wrong, is the standard of duty.—**ἀρχὰς βίου βίᾳ φερομένων**: *those who usurp the control of a life.* Here **βίος** is the *course* or *conduct of life*, as in **ἀνεπίληπτος βίος** *an irreproachable life* Eur. *Or.* 920, **ἐκπονεῖν βίον λίαν** *to make conduct too difficult* id. *Hipp.* 467, etc.; **ἀρχαί** is *government, control*: the plural, common in abstract words, is chosen for clearness, because **ἀρχὴ βίου** would suggest 'beginning of life'. To govern his life is the mark of a free man; the despot *takes to himself by violence* (**βίᾳ φέρεται**) or *steals* the control, and the robbery continues with his dominion. For **ἄρχεσθαι** *to be controlled*, with a similar invidious tone, see Soph. *El.* 264, **ἐκ τῶνδε ἄρχομαι**.—For **βίᾳ φέρειν** (**φέρεσθαι**) see L. and Sc. *s. v.* **φέρω** VI.—For the schol. and further criticism see Appendix I. § 5.

79. **πικρὸν**. See the schol. to *v.* 74 in Appendix I. § 5. The authority is worth little, but euphony favours the change.

80. **κρατούσῃ**: *mastering.*

80—81. *Yet I weep, veiling my tears (so wild is the destiny of my lords), for one whom sorrow hidden is freezing into ice.*—**δέ** is adversative; literally, 'but I do weep, veiling' etc.—**ματαίοισι δεσποτᾶν τύχαις**. This quasi-causal dative, related in construction to the whole sentence, and in sense particularly to **ὑφ' εἱμάτων**, belongs to the class of 'datives absolute' discussed in Appendix Z. to the *Agamemnon*.—**ματαίοισι**: *wild, irregular* ("blind and aimless" Conington). **δεσποτᾶν**: 'those I serve', the family of the Atridae. The constraint of slavery is aggravated by the horrors and divisions of the house; they loathe their mistress, and feel for her broken-hearted daughter a sympathy which they hardly dare to show.—**παχνουμένην**, Electra, whom, during these last words, they timidly approach. Since the entrance she has been sitting at the tomb, motionless, and probably with her face covered, pondering and forming the resolve which she presently discloses. The fondness of Aeschylus for such a situation in the opening of a play is noticed in the *Frogs* (911); where his *Niobe* is cited as a famous example of it. The expression **παχνουμένην** looks like an actual reminiscence of Niobe 'frozen to stone' (Ov. *Met.* 6. 306), and probably suggested to Sophocles the explicit comparison between Niobe and Electra which occurs in his corresponding scene (*El.* 51). The indirect address of the chorus to Electra rouses her from her thoughts, and prepares our attention for her speech.—**δεσποτᾶν** (Stanley) is right, not **δεσπόταν** (M). The position of the word shows that it is closely connected with **ματαίοισι...τύχαις**, and there is no room in the sentence for the accusative, which was written inadvertently, as if depending on **δακρύω**, because the mourning of Agamemnon is the general topic. The error is possibly older than the ancient paraphrase (see Appendix I. § 5), which however does not pretend to give the words of the text but only an abstract of the sense, and is not inconsistent with **δεσποτᾶν**. The plural itself might in Greek refer to Agamemnon only, if the context so determined; but the expression *wild destinies* points rather, as Conington says, to the family.—The conjecture **παχνουμένη** (Turn.), though commonly adopted in modern texts (the reference to Electra being

τύχαις, κρυφαίοις πένθεσιν παχνουμένην.

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ.

δμῳαὶ γυναῖκες, δωμάτων εὐθήμονες,
ἐπεὶ πάρεστε τῆσδε προστροπῆς ἐμοὶ
πομποί, γένεσθε τῶνδε σύμβουλοι περὶ
τυφῶ· * χέουσα τάσδε κηδείους χοὰς
πῶς εὔφρον' εἶπω, πῶς κατεύξωμαι πατρί;

85—86. περι· | τύφω δὲ χέουσα. 87. εὔφρων. κατεύξομαι.

overlooked), destroys the purpose of the sentence.

83. By the courteous form of address, in which δμῳαί is converted by δωμάτων εὐθήμονες (*who order the house*) almost into a title of honour, Electra responds to the slaves' compassion. We are reminded of the bishop's 'Monsieur', which wins the heart of the convict in *Les Misérables*, and of Hugo's remark on it, 'L'ignominie a soif de la considération'.—To understand properly the fine scene which follows we must keep in view the mental state of the slaves, as just disclosed. They regard themselves as discharged by their position from moral responsibility, as beneath it. Electra has resolved on a pious act of rebellion, which requires that they should run a tremendous risk, far greater than hers, in reliance upon her and upon one another. Her object is therefore to hearten them and to draw them on. It will be seen that all the suggestions really come from her, but her effort is to put them into the mouth of the respondent.

85—86. *Give me your counsel upon our bewildering situation.* τῶνδε (*the present matter*) depends, as gen. of equivalent, on τυφῶ (gen., *Ag.* 661): the situation is metaphorically a τυφώς. This energetic figure cannot be rendered in English, because the terrible phaenomenon of the 'whirlwind' or 'dust-storm' is to us practically unknown. It is powerfully described by Sophocles (*Ant.* 411). By the sudden attack of its stifling cloud men were sometimes even deprived of their senses; and popular language borrowed from it a synonym for *idiotic*. (See L. and Sc. *s. vv.* τυφώς, τυφόω.) Harpocration's derivation of τετυφωμένος, whether scientific or not, proves the association of ideas. The command of Clytaemnestra, that offerings shall be made on her behalf at the grave of her victim, is compared to a τυφώς, not only as an astounding surprise, but also because it has placed Electra in a position of bewildering difficulty.—On the normal effect of the pause after the first foot see passages in the *Septem*, *Index s.v. Pause*.—περι· | τύφω δὲ χέουσα M, οἶμαι 'τύμβῳ' corrector of M, τάφῳ Stanley, τἰφῶ Ahrens. None of these familiar words are likely to have been changed into τύφω, nor would τύμβῳ or τάφῳ justify its position. The author of the MS. reading took τύφω for an intransitive verb, connected with τῦφος *smoke*, and meaning 'I am perplexed'. This guess, unscientific but obvious, like those of Hesychius and the ancients generally, naturally suggested the insertion of a copula.—Whether δέ would be admitted by the metre, is a difficult question and need not here be discussed.

87. εὔφρονα: *gracious, well-regarded, acceptable*; cf. *Ag.* 797 εὔφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν. The feeling is transferred from the persons regarding. πατρί is

πότερα λέγουσα παρὰ φίλης φίλῳ φέρειν
γυναικὸς ἀνδρί, τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα;
τῶνδ' οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος, οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ 90
χέουσα τόνδε πέλανον ἐν τύμβῳ πατρός.—
ἢ τοῦτο φάσκω τοὔπος, ὡς νόμος βροτοῖς
ἔστ', ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖσι πέμπουσιν τάδε
στέφη...δόσιν γε τῶν κακῶν ἐπαξίαν;—

94. γε.

related to **εὔφρονα**, as well as to the verbs.—Dindorf renders *εὔφρον* 'bene excogitatum' referring to *Supp.* 355 (378), but it has there its usual sense 'a gracious thing', as in Prof. Tucker's translation.—**κατεύξομαι** (or **κατεύξωμαι** Turn.): here a synonym for *εὔχομαι*. Every *εὐχή* is a *κατευχή*, since it brings the addressed *to* the worshipper. In *κατεύχεσθαί τινος*, *to imprecate*, the preposition has a different meaning.

88. The tribrach twice in the verse is unlike Aeschylus, and perhaps we should read **πὰρ** (H. Wolf). But compare the initial tribrach in two successive lines (185—186).

90. **θάρσος**: because the lie *παρὰ φίλης* might draw the anger of the spirit upon the speaker.

91—92. She pauses, as if in perplexity, and tries a fresh suggestion.—To avoid this break, Weil puts *vv.* 90—91 after *v.* 94. But surely it is expressive.

92. **ἔπος**: *formula*; see on *Theb.* 566.

93. **ἔστι**: not 'is' but 'has been and is'. Precisely similar is Eur. *Ion* 589 *εἶναί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας | κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπείσακτον γένος*, where *εἶναι* is emphatic by position in the sentence, as here by position in the verse. The word marks the custom as immemorial and 'standing', and is nearly equivalent to *ζῇ*, as applied metaphorically in Soph. *Ant.* 457: so *ἔστιν* is *ζῇ* (literally) in *Ag.* 676. Somewhat similar is Eur. *H. F.* 1382 *ᾧ δ' ἀεὶ κακῶς | ἔστ', οὐδὲν ἀλγεῖ* 'he that always has been miserable does not feel misfortune as much as the prosperous'.—The general assumption is certainly right, that *ἐστί* (not emphatic) is here inappropriate. Both Sophocles (*O. C.* 1168) and Euripides (*fr.* 385. 10) differ widely from Aeschylus in the juncture of the verses, and are no safe guides. As to *Ag.* 1231, see note there. Hence *ὡς νόμος βροτοῖς, ἔσθλ' ἀντιδοῦναι* κτλ. (Elmsley), and other conjectures. As I think the emphasis intentional, I make no change.

93—94. **ἀντιδοῦναι...ἐπαξίαν**: "Reward them that send these 'wreaths' with such reward as—their foulness deserves". This formula, as the terms of it show, belonged properly, not to the ritual of *χοαί*, but to the offering of a wreath by those who sought *a wreath in return*, being about to compete in some *ἀγών*. For such an adaptation of prayer to gift see Eur. *Hipp.* 87, where the ascetic, offering a *wreath*, prays for the preservation of his virtue in the metaphor of a chariot-race, *τέλος δὲ κάμψαιμ' ὥσπερ ἡρξάμην βίου*. There appears to be no evidence that libations, or the material for libation, could be called *στέφη*, and *καλῶν fair, glorious* (for which **κακῶν** is here substituted ironically: *schol.*) is still less applicable. The verb *στέφειν* is frequently applied to the act of offering libations etc. (Soph. *Ant.* 431, *El.* 52, 458), perhaps because the offerings were originally poured all round the tomb or fastened on (in the case of locks of hair, etc.) by something tied round it, the fundamental notion of *στέφος* being apparently *ring*. But this does not show that *χοαί* could be called *στέφη*, *στέμματα*,

ἦ σῖγ' ἀτίμως, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπώλετο
πατήρ, τάδ' ἐκχέουσα, γάποτον χύσιν,
στείχω καθάρμαθ' ὥς τις ἐκπέμψας πάλιν,
δικοῦσα τεῦχος, ἀστρόφοισιν ὄμμασιν;—
τῆσδ' ἐστὲ βουλῆς, ὦ φίλαι, μεταίτιαι·
κοινὸν γὰρ ἔχθος ἐν δόμοις νομίζομεν.—
μὴ κεύθετ' ἔνδον καρδίας φόβῳ τινός.
τὸ μόρσιμον γὰρ τόν τ' ἐλεύθερον μένει

or στέφανοι. The object of χοαί was to propitiate the dead and the gods of the dead; and the appropriate prayer was that the dead might be suffered to come, visibly or in spirit, to the loving giver. (*Pers.* 624, 631, Soph. *El.* 457.) This will not do; and therefore Electra, catching a suggestion from the use of στέφειν, tries whether another familiar prayer can be adapted. But this also fails, and she abandons the attempt.—Conington supposes wreaths to be brought with the χοαί, as was sometimes done (see *Pers.* 621), but there is no clear mention of them in this scene.—γε (Stanley) brings out the ironical point.—Here she pauses again, as if expecting a reply.

95. 'Am I to offer them without a word and thus repeat the insult of his death [and funeral], flinging them out like so much pollution?' Electra so words the proposal as to assign a reason for rejecting it (Conington).

96. ἐκχέουσα: *after having poured*, lit. 'having been pouring'. For the tense see *v.* 706 ἔσθ' ὁ καιρὸς ἡμερεύονταs ξένους | μακρᾶς κελεύθου τυγχάνειν τὰ πρόσφορα. It is strictly imperfect, not present, and signifies, not that the action of ἐκχέουσα is contemporaneous with that of στείχω, but that the 'pouring' is a prolonged, not a momentary action. See on στέφη above.—ἐκχέασα Dindorf.—χύσιν: cf. *v.* 576 ἄκρατον αἷμα πίεται τρίτην πόσιν (Conington).

97. τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἔθος, ὅτι καθαίροντες οἰκίαν ὀστρακίνῳ θυματηρίῳ βίψαντες ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις τὸ ὄστρακον ἀμεταστρεπτεὶ ἀνεχώρουν: schol. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 24. 91.—στείχω...πάλιν: *go back* (to the house). These words must be taken together, as by the schol., Blomfield, and Conington, since στείχω without the adverb has no complete sense. It appears that in rites of this kind the vessel itself was sometimes thrown backwards, for greater precaution (Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 101, *transque caput iace*, Ov. *Fast.* 5. 437 *aversusque iacit*): and some (Stanley) would take πάλιν here with δικοῦσα. It cannot however refer to δικοῦσα as well as to στείχω, since the directions are opposite; and with στείχω it seems indispensable.

99. μεταίτιαι. So ἀναίτιαι *v.* 892, παραιτία *v.* 909, τῇ μεταιτίᾳ Soph. *Trach.* 447. (Wecklein.)

100. νομίζομεν: χρώμεθα, 'entertain habitually'.

102. 'Free and slave are alike subject to fate, or, as we should say, 'in the hands of God'. This is much more than the 'rather commonplace consolation', that they cannot suffer more than is fated (οὐδὲν πείσεσθε παρὰ τὸ μόρσιμον schol.). She tries to awaken their dignity and moral sense by showing that she herself is no more free than they. The slave is tempted to measure his duty by his master's will (*vv.* 74—82). Electra would have them look higher, remembering that we are all 'slaves' of a greater power (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 88), and the freest can but do bravely what seems right, and await the consequence ordained.—τὸν πρὸς ἄλλης δεσποτούμενον χερός: *him who is govern-*

καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἄλλης δεσποτούμενον χερός.—
λέγοις ἄν, εἴ τι τῶνδ' ἔχοις ὑπέρτερον.
ΧΟ. αἰδουμένη σοι βωμὸν ὡς τύμβον πατρὸς
λέξω, κελεύεις γάρ, τὸν ἐκ φρενὸς λόγον.
ΗΛ. λέγοις ἄν, ὥσπερ ἡδέσω τάφον πατρός.

ed by the hand of another, i.e. whom fate governs not directly but through his human master. Not 'him who is governed by another hand *than his own*', which would be absurd, since none is governed 'by his own hand'. For πρός with gen. of the instrumental agent, see *Eum.* 452 ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου | σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ.

104. *Speak, if thou canst grasp anything beyond this present!* Seeing that they still hesitate, she tries a solemn and personal appeal to one of the oldest (the chorus-leader, see *v.* 170), pointing, as she speaks, to Agamemnon's grave (*vv.* 105, 107). The gesture has double significance, not only as an invocation of the slave's dead master, but because *there* τὸ μόρσιμον waits for us all.—ἔχοις: *grasp, understand*, as in the formula ἔχεις τι; *Do you understand me?*, ἔχετε τὸ πρᾶγμα *ye know it now* (Soph. *Phil.* 789).—τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον: *anything beyond this world*, as in *frag.* 65 a Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, | Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὠτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον. The words ὑπέρτερος, ὑπέρτατος are frequent in religious phrases (ἡμῶν γε μέντοι Νέμεσις ἐσθ' ὑπερτέρα *frag.* 257, μᾶλλον θεοῦ πεποιθὼς δμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον *Theb.* 517, Ζῆνα ὑπέρτατον *Supp.* 680, ὑπερτέραν τᾶς πάρος ἔτι χάριτος) (*grace* from heaven; see the context) Soph. *El.* 1265, θεῶν ὑπερτάταν *Ant.* 338: and probably τὰ τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερα was itself a religious formula.—The conditional opt. ἔχοις is necessary to the sense. The fear of Electra is, that, demoralized by subjection, the slaves may *not* have faith enough to rise above their habitual acquiescence in the will of Clytaemnestra. It has been seen, that they have but a weak trust in the justice of this world, and no outlook beyond (*v.* 63). As it is essential to the plot that they should play a very dangerous and heroic part, this awakening of their conscience is a fit commencement. The form λέγοις ἄν implies here not merely a softening of the command, but also a doubt whether it will be effectual (cf. *Ag.* 1033).—The common interpretation 'Speak, if you have any suggestion better than mine' leads naturally to the conjecture ἔχεις (Jacobs, and many others), since, by expressing doubt of the slaves' capacity to advise her, Electra would only make her appeal weaker. It is also in itself pointless and inappropriate, as is seen by those (Schütz, Wecklein) who, assuming ἔχεις, propose to omit the whole verse.

105. She will speak as truly upon "thy father's grave" as if it were an altar to swear by. This, though very far below the import of Electra's appeal, is still a religious obligation and essentially sufficient. Even in yielding to it, the slave instinctively falls back upon mere obedience (κελεύεις γάρ): but Electra, who wants help and moral support, instantly recalls her to the higher consideration.

107. τάφον. Note the change of word. In αἰδεῖσθαι τύμβον ὡς βωμόν the material 'barrow' is the object of reverence. But τάφον, properly meaning *burial*, suggests the history of this grave (*v.* 95): and the αἰδώς to be felt for it is compassion as well as respect. The whole effort of Electra in this scene is to elevate her 'friends' from their abasement.

ΧΟ. φθέγγου χέουσα σεμνὰ τοῖσιν εὔφροσιν.
ΗΛ. τίνας δὲ τούτους τῶν φίλων προσεννέπω;
ΧΟ. πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὴν χὤστις Αἴγισθον στυγεῖ.
ΗΛ. ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ τἄρ' ἐπεύξωμαι τάδε;
ΧΟ. αὐτὴ σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνουσ' ἤδη φράσαι.
ΗΛ. τίν' οὖν ἔτ' ἄλλον τῇδε προστιθῶ στάσει;
ΧΟ. μέμνησ' Ὀρέστου, κεἰ θυραῖός ἐσθ' ὅμως.
ΗΛ. εὖ τοῦτο, κἀφρένωσας οὐχ ἥκιστά με.
ΧΟ. τοῖς αἰτίοις νυν τοῦ φόνου μεμνημένη—
ΗΛ. τί φῶ; δίδασκ' ἄπειρον ἐξηγουμένη.
ΧΟ. ἐλθεῖν τιν' αὐτοῖς δαίμον' ἢ βροτῶν τινα—

110. αὐτὴν corr. to αὐτὴν. 111. ἐπεύξομαι.

108. 'Speak, when thou pourest, as religion bids *those who love*', literally 'utter what is religious for those who love (to utter)', *i.e.* the only proper and permitted prayer, that the dead will vouchsafe his presence and blessing *to those who love him*: see on *vv.* 87, 88, 93. What she means, but as yet dares only hint, is that to which Electra has directly led, that the impious offering of Clytaemnestra should be converted into a pious offering on behalf of Electra herself.—The objections to this verse proceed on the assumption that we are to find in it, plainly expressed, the ἐπεύχου which Electra (*v.* 111) reads into it. Hence, since φθέγγου σεμνά cannot mean 'invoke blessings', many (with Hartung) read κεδνά. But why not then εὔχου κεδνά, since φθέγγεσθαι is not 'to invoke'? In the obscurity of the language lies its dramatic merit.—The schol. (χέουσα τὰς χοὰς εὔξαι ἀγαθὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι—τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι δηλονότι) would undoubtedly disprove the reading σεμνά, and φθέγγου too, if we knew (1) that the writer is trustworthy, and also (2) that he is translating word for word. As we know nothing of him but this note, we conclude in the alternative, that if he was a good scholar, he is giving only the implied sense, which he gives rightly, and if he is translating, his εὔξαι ἀγαθά is no more than an ignorant guess.

109. *To whom among our friends am I to apply your* 'τοῖς εὔφροσιν'? She wishes them to name themselves.

110. αὐτήν: *i.e.* σεαυτήν. In all such places critics waver between αὐτὸς and ἑαυτοῦ. It seems that we have not any decisive evidence on the point. In this particular place the use of αὐτήν may be part of the general indirectness.

111. She words their meaning, and they do not disclaim it.

112. φράσαι: *consider.*

113—20. We are not to suppose that Electra, who has but one near friend in the world, really needs to be reminded of her brother. Her purpose, as before, is to prompt and draw on the interlocutor, who is so far encouraged by applause, as to venture half a step (*v.* 116) without assistance, and finally (*v.* 120), not without pride, to complete the step and to take the lead.

118. αὐτοῖς. This is no exception to the general rule in Aeschylus as to the use of αὐτός. The emphatic pronoun is applied to an offender, in speaking of retribution, with the suggestion that *he* is to be done by as he did. So in *Eum.* 316 ὅστις δὲ...χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει,... πράκτορες αἵματος αὐτῷ τελέων ἐφάνημεν.

ΗΛ. πότερα δικαστὴν ἢ δικηφόρον λέγεις;
ΧΟ. ἁπλῶς τι φράζουσ', ὅστις ἀνταποκτενεῖ. 120
ΗΛ. καὶ ταῦτά μοὐστὶν εὐσεβῆ θεῶν πάρα;
ΧΟ. πῶς δ' οὔ, τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς;
ΗΛ. κἠργῷ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω,
Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, γένοιο κηρύξας ἐμοί,
τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλύειν ἐμὰς 125

123. μεγίστη. See foot-note.

Prom. 370 ἀντέστη θεοῖς...ὡς τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπέρσων βίᾳ· ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος. *ib.* 705 Ἄργος πυκνοῖς ὄσσοις φυλάσσων τοὺς ἐμοὺς κατὰ στίβους. ἀπροσδόκητος δ' αὐτὸν αἰφνίδιος μόρος τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν (while intent upon the pursuit of *me*, he was *himself* surprised by death), etc. So in *Prom.* 322 οἵαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι (by the very god that I served). Here αὐτοῖς suggests and anticipates ἀνταποκτενεῖ.

119. 'Judge or avenger?' There is of course no question to be tried; her doubt is merely affected.

120. *To speak somewhat plainly*—. They condescend to Electra's slow perception, which is precisely what she desires.—Supply λέγω.

121. θεῶν πάρα depends on the verbal notion εὐγματα, implied from the context in ταῦτα.—καὶ τὸ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν παρὰ θεῶν δοκᾷ μοι κρίνεται; (κρίνετε;?): schol. The use of εἰπεῖν (*ask*?) here throws some light on the representation of φθέγγου by εὔξαι in the note to *v.* 108, probably from the same hand.—Electra's ear is shocked for the moment; but very few ancient moralists would have doubted that the deity might be lawfully asked to do justice upon murder, adultery, and treason. The scruple is advanced that the slave may triumph over it, which she does *with a barbarous maxim much wider than the case requires* and savouring rather of the morality of Clytaemnestra (*Ag.* 1373).

123—151. The prayer. It is to be observed, that the awful duty laid by the command of Apollo upon Orestes, that *he* is to slay the murderers, even his own mother, has not presented itself to Electra's mind. She abstains from designating the hand, which is to execute vengeance (*v.* 143), and seems rather to assume (*vv.* 138—141) that Clytaemnestra at least will not be punished by the hand of a child.

123. The commencement of the speech was lost by some local injury to a MS. from which M is descended. This verse, probably the only one missing, was written on another part of the MS., perhaps the top of the opposite page, and stands in M after *v.* 164, whence it was restored by Hermann.—μέγιστε Stanley.

124. Something is lost. Mr Housman (*Amer. Journal of Philology*, XIII. 150) suggests γένοιο κηρύξας, comparing *Theb.* 145 Λύκει' ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαΐῳ: γένοιο, as he remarks, resembles, and might be easily lost after, χθόνιε.—ἄρηξον, Ἑρμῆ Klausen.—ἐμοί (and ἐμὰς *v.* 125): this is the point; Electra speaks for herself, instead of as the deputy of Clytaemnestra.—κηρύξας ἐμοί...κλύειν: *summoning them on my behalf to hear.*

125. τοὺς δαίμονας: the spirits of her ancestors (cf. τοῖς ἔνερθ' Ἀτρείδαις Soph. *El.* 1066; Wecklein) and particularly of Agamemnon.—ἐμὰς...ἐπισκόπους: *the prayers of me, prayers whose regard is fixed upon paternal eyes.* She imagines that the rite brings the ancestral

εὐχὰς, πατρῴων δ' ὀμμάτων ἐπισκόπους·
καὶ γαῖαν αὐτήν, ἥ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται
θρέψασά τ' αὖθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει.
κἀγὼ χέουσα τάσδε, χέρνιβας βροτοῖς,

ghosts themselves to the tomb (as Darius comes visibly in the *Persae*), that she, or rather her personified 'prayer', is now face to face with them, though they are not seen, and that they will be affected by the look of their daughter's eyes. For the thought cf. Soph. *O. C.* 244 *δντομαι ...προσορωμένα δμμα σὸν δμμασιν, ὥς τις ἀφ' αἵματος ὑμετέρου προφανεῖσα.*—**ὀμμάτων ἐπισκόπους**, literally, 'which look towards eyes', that they may be looked upon in return. Cf. *Supp.* 386 *τὸν ὑψόθεν σκοπὸν ἐπισκόπει*, and *ib.* 406 *ὁμαίμων τάδ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Ζεύς*, Soph. *El.* 1184 *ὧδ' ἐπισκοπῶν looking at me thus.* In *Eum.* 906 *ἐπίσκοπα regarding* is applied to prayers metaphorically, with a gen. of the object sought.—That *ὀμμάτων* is right, although generally discarded without discussion, appears to me certain. It is no objection that *ἐπίσκοπος* (and *ἐπισκοπεῖν*) has not exactly the same shade of meaning elsewhere. Like *ἐφορᾶν*, and such compounds generally, it varies in meaning; and scarcely any two examples in poetry are precisely alike. In the conjectural texts (*δωμάτων* Stanley, *αἱμάτων* Ahrens) *ἐπισκόπους* is mostly referred to *δαίμονας*: but the order indicates that it belongs to *εὐχάς*. To omit δ' (Turnebus) is plausible; but the use of δέ in Aeschylus requires more consideration. The passages which point to uses of it different from the normal are too many to be dismissed. There are, for instance, five others in this play (189, 205, 231, 709, 840) and five in the *Septem* (220, 572, 828, 902, 903, where see notes). The conclusion to which they lead is that Aeschylus carried a little farther than others the love of adversative and antithetic expression, which is characteristic of Greek; and that δέ sometimes marks not so much a contrast, as an *increase* of the meaning. Thus here the description **πατρῴων ὀμμάτων ἐπισκόπους** is by δέ marked as a correction or extension of the preceding **εὐχάς**, 'prayers, which are not common prayers, but more, when they thus meet my ancestors face to face'.—*νῦν τί ἐπισκόπους*; schol., interpreting thus, "my prayers, which look for my father's eyes, *because they have now nothing to regard*". This explanation cannot of course be sustained; but its subtlety proves it extremely ancient; and it guarantees at least the antiquity of *ὀμμάτων*, having no application to any of the other readings proposed.

128. **αὖθις...λαμβάνει**: *doth again conceive them.* **κῦμα** (*concept*) is correlative to **τίκτεται**, and **τῶνδε** is gen. of equivalent (cf. *v.* 85); literally 'receives them again, as a concept'. This, as *τὰ πάντα* shows, is not to be limited to plants, which drop their seed, though that is the fact which suggests the idea and the application. *All things*, men among them, are born of the earth, and received again into her womb. The prayer implied is that, as she restores the plants, so she will now permit the return of the dead. In fact the thought is precisely that which St. Paul (1 *Cor.* 15. 36) adopts with an immense extension of meaning.

129. **χέουσα τάσδε χέρνιβας βροτοῖς**: *pouring these streams which purify mortal hands.* The dative 'depends on' the verbal notion in *χέρνιβας*, or, to put the same thing otherwise, is constructed as in *χέρνιβας οὔσας βροτοῖς*. Why the *χοαί* were supposed to act like holy water, and why the whole ceremony was called *λουτρά*, a *purification* (Soph. *El.* 84), is, with our present knowledge, extremely obscure.

λέγω, καλοῦσα πατέρ' ἐποικτείρουτ' ἐμὲ
φίλου τ' Ὀρέστην, πῶς ἀνάξομεν δόμοις;
πεπραγμένοι γὰρ νῦν γέ πως ἀλώμεθα
πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης (ἄνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο
Αἴγισθον, ὅσπερ σοῦ φόνου μεταίτιος),
κἀγὼ μὲν ἀντίδουλος, ἐκ δὲ χρημάτων
φεύγειν Ὀρέστης ἐστίν, οἱ δ' ὑπερκόπως
ἐν τοῖσι σοῖς πόνοισι χλίουσιν μέτα.
ἐλθεῖν δ' Ὀρέστην δεῦρο σὺν τύχῃ τινὶ
κατεύχομαί σοι, καὶ σὺ κλῦθί μου, πάτερ·
αὐτῇ τέ μοι δὸς σωφρονεστέρᾳ πολὺ
μητρὸς γενέσθαι χεῖρά τ' εὐσεβεστέρᾳ.
ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχὰς τάσδε· τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις
λέγω φανῆναί σου, πάτερ, τιμάορον,

140. *σωφρονεστέρα.* 141. *εὐσεβεστέραν.*

Those who went to and from the presence of the dead touched or sprinkled themselves with holy water, as appears from the fact that a vessel for the purpose was set at the door of a house, where a corpse lay (Eur. *Alc.* 100). Perhaps for some similar reason those who offered χοαί first used that which was to be poured as χέρνιβες by dipping the hands in it, or putting some of it on their hands.—It is useless and arbitrary to change βροτοῖς here to φθιτοῖς, νεκροῖς or the like. Regarded as χέρνιβες or λουτρά the offerings must have affected not the buried, but the living. It is for βροτοί that the offerings are χέρνιβες.

130. *I appeal to a father, who pities me and his beloved Orestes, saying, 'How shall we become lords of thy house? For now are we vagabond'* etc. The text, with Hermann's accentuation (ἐποικτειρόν τ' M) and Conington's punctuation, appears quite satisfactory. The effect of καλοῦσα...Ὀρέστην is the same as if the invocation itself had been written thus, ὦ ἐποικτείρων ἐμὲ φίλου τ' Ὀρέστην. It gives the ground of the appeal. The slight abruptness of the commencement is a rhetorical advantage. Having once resolved to speak, Electra can no longer control her feelings.—ἀνάξομεν: βασιλεύσομεν schol. For the archaic construction with the dative see L. and Sc., *s.* ἀνάσσω. —Alternative suggestions are (1) that πῶς ἀνάξομεν is dependent upon ἐποικτειρον ἐμέ τ' Ὀρέστην τε, *quasi* ὅπως ἀνάξομεν (schol.): this is grammatically inadmissible: (2) that the conclusion of the sentence ἐποικτείροντα...Ὀρέστην is lost (Hermann): (3) that πῶς ἀνάξομεν is corrupt (φῶς τ' ἄναψον Schneidewin). (2) and (3) cannot be disproved, but seem to be groundless.

133. *For now are we vagabond, since our mother, to buy Ægisthus, her complice in thy murder, for her husband, hath bargained us away, so to say, me into slavery, and Orestes into banishment from his wealth; while they proudly revel instead in that for which thou didst labour.* See App. I. § 6.

140—41. χεῖρα: acc. 'of respect' with εὐσεβεστέρᾳ.—The datives (Meineke) leave this clear, and are therefore preferable to accusatives (σωφρονεστέραν... εὐσεβεστέραν).

142. ἡμῖν...τοῖς ἐναντίοις datives 'of the person concerned', *in reference to us*, as in *v.* 146.

καὶ τοὺς κτανόντας ἀντικατθανεῖν δίκην.
ταῦτ' ἐν μέσῳ τίθημι τῆς κακῆς ἀρᾶς,
κείνοις λέγουσα τήνδε τὴν κακὴν ἀράν.
ἡμῖν δὲ πομπὸς ἔσθι τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἄνω
σὺν θεοῖσι καὶ γῇ καὶ δίκῃ νικηφόρῳ.
τοιαῖσδ' ἐπ' εὐχαῖς τάσδ' ἐπισπένδω χοάς.
ὑμᾶς δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος,

Δ
147. τῶν .

144. *And that those who slew thee be slain in revenge.* δίκην is acc. 'in apposition to' the substantive contained in κατθανεῖν, 'receive death as penalty for it'. The genitive (*e.g.* τοῦ φόνου), by which δίκην might be defined, is supplied from the context. Since θανεῖν is the regular passive in use of κτανεῖν (see *Theb.* 941—944, and *passim*), and since the notion 'slaying' thus runs all through the sentence, I see no harshness (nor apparently did Conington) in δίκην without definition: but in truth this is a matter too delicate for any judgment but that of a native.—γρ(άφε) ἀντικατακτανεῖν, corrector in M (whence Scaliger ἀντικακτανεῖν).

145—46. "*This I interpose to bar their prayer for evil, uttering against them this my prayer for evil.* τῆς κακῆς ἀρᾶς, as Franz appears to have seen, is the prayer which Clytaemnestra wished to have presented along with the libation, and which she is made to present herself by Sophocles (*El.* 634 foll.), an evil one, as being the prayer of a criminal for impunity, if not for judgment on her own children. See again on *v.* 309 (308). ἐν μέσῳ here =ἐμποδών, as in Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 2. 26, [and cf. οἱ ἐν μέσῳ λόγοι *the intervening words* Soph. *El.* 1364, Eur. *Med.* 819]." Conington.—Electra has undertaken to pray 'for Clytaemnestra', a prayer κακήν to Electra herself. Accordingly, in appropriating to herself Clytaemnestra's offering, she thinks it safer to cross or bar by express words the 'evil prayer', which the offering in itself, being Clytaemnestra's, might otherwise import. She interposes a prayer between (cf. the use of μεταξύ) herself and Clytaemnestra's prayer, a precaution thoroughly characteristic of the legality which marks ancient religion and ritual.—It does not appear what objection there is to Con.'s explanation, which the recent commentators do not discuss. The whole situation sufficiently shows, without other definition, whose is the κακὴ ἀρά of *v.* 145; and besides, to Aeschylus and his audience, the language, being probably that of a religious formula, would carry its own prescriptive interpretation. The expression κακὴ ἀρά must descend from the time when ἀρά was not yet limited to 'evil prayer': ἀρᾶσθαι retained this freedom longer. The alternatives are (1) To read καλῆς in *v.* 145 (Schütz), and to understand that this 'evil prayer' is inserted or imbedded, from religious scruple, in a mass of 'good prayer'. The explanation would pass very well; but the use of καλός is by no means commensurate with that of κακός, and καλὴ ἀρά would require example, even if any change were admissible: (2) To omit the two verses (Dindorf). But who invented them, and why?

149. Here probably (not before) Electra goes close to the mound, and pours the offerings, while the following hymn is sung. As she watches them sinking into the ground, she sees the lock (*v.* 164), takes it up, and comes hastily back.

150. ἐπ-ανθίζειν. The division between verb and preposition is here allowed as a caesura: compare the inde-

παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξαυδωμένας.
ΧΟ. ἴετε δάκρυ καναχὲς ὀλόμενον
ὀλομένῳ δεσπότᾳ
πρὸς ἔρυμα τόδε κακῶν κεδνῶν τ',

pendent prepositions noticed on *v.* 137. The so-called 'quasi-caesura' is sometimes thus aided, *Theb.* 996 δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρή, *ib.* 1044.—To '*crown* with lament' is merely metaphorical; supply τὰς χοάς.

151. παιᾶνα: usually the joyful accompaniment of libations at a feast (*Ag.* 256). The application to χοαί would be natural when, as in the case of blood-offerings, they were regarded as *food* for the dead. Here however it is rather misapplied intentionally, and with bitterness.—ἐξαυδωμένας: *swelling with your voices the hymn of the dead.* For this use of the compound verb see Eur. *Iph. T.* 177 ἀντιψάλμους ᾠδὰς...σοι..., δέσποιν', ἐξαυδάσω, τὰν ἐν θρήνοις μοῦσαν νέκυσι μελομέναν, τὰν ἐν μολπαῖς Ἅιδας ὑμνεῖ δίχα παιάνων, where the close resemblance of subjects suggests reminiscence. In both cases the fulness of the choir is contrasted with the single voice. The commoner meaning is 'to speak out, speak plainly'; and in Soph. *Phil.* 1244 ἐξαυδᾶν contrasts the outward voice with the inward thought. See also *inf.* 271.—The 'deponent' αὐδᾶσθαι (examples in *Lexica* require verification) probably meant originally 'to be the voice of' something, 'to voice it', and retains for the most part the trace of its origin, as here. Thus in Soph. *Phil.* 130, 852 it is used of persons who speak by instruction and are the voices *only* of what they say. But in Soph. *Ai.* 772, ηὐδᾶτο *she was commanding* (?), it seems to have become simply equivalent to αὐδᾶν. The Aeschylean examples will be considered as they occur.—These two verses (150—151) were rejected by Paley. It is not unlikely that they should have been inserted to smooth the transition to the chorus, and it is curious that *v.* 150 should exhibit a very rare metre, *v.* 151 a peculiar form (ἐξαυδωμένας). When commenting on *Theb.* 665 I was inclined to regard these and some other considerations as decisive in favour of Paley's view, and to deny the deponent proper to Aeschylus. But I now incline, though doubtfully, the other way, principally on the evidence of ἐπανθίζειν, a figure thoroughly Aeschylean.

152—163. There is no reason to suppose that this piece was divided into *strophae.* Such an arrangement cannot be carried out without much arbitrary alteration. As to the mode of recitation, various conjectures are possible. *Vv.* 152—157 seem to fall most naturally to the leader of the chorus (Wecklein), *vv.* 158—163 perhaps to the full chorus.

153. καναχὲς ὀλόμενον ὀλομένῳ δεσπότᾳ. The figure *hinted* by these words is that of the drop which disappears (ὄλυται) in the water into which it splashes (καναχές). The dead, the sinking χοαί, and the δάκρυα, which (in metaphor) follow them, are all in various ways ὀλόμενα. But the figure, depending upon Greek vocabulary and construction, cannot be translated and must not be literally pressed. For ὀλόμενον ὀλομένῳ, implying *succession* of ὀλόμενα, see on τοῖσι θανοῦσι θανών *Ag.* 1338; and for ὄλυσθαι *disappear* see *Theb.* 318, 408, 554.—See Conington's note, which I follow with some modification.

154. πρὸς belongs both to ἴετε and to κεχυμένων.—ἔρυμα. *This barrier of* (against) *good and ill*: the grave-mound, which, by its resemblance to a rampart, suggests and figures the separation between this world and the other.—κακῶν κεδνῶν τ', *i.e.* 'everything'; but the form is suggested by the present petition for κακά and κεδνά, which are to be sent from the other world.

ἀπότροπον ἄγος, ἀπεύχετον, 155
κεχυμένων χοᾶν. κλύε δέ μοι, κλύε,
σέβας, ὦ δέσποτ', ἐξ ἀμαυρᾶς φρενός.
ὀτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ,
ἰὼ τίς δορυ-
σθενὴς ἀνὴρ ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων, 160

155. ἄλγος. 159. ἰὼ *sic.*

155. *This awful thing, from which we turn, against which we pray*, literally 'averting, prayed against'.—**ἄγος.** This word is extremely obscure to us, partly from its rarity, partly because the sphere of thought to which it belongs is remote from ours, partly because it is liable to confusion with ἅγος (conn. with ἅγιος). See on *Theb.* 1008 and Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 775. What seems certain is that it meant (1) *pollution* and (2) *expiatory offering*, ideas which we conceive as contradictory. I believe that the account in L. and Sc. is correct, and that primarily it meant simply *a religious thing* or *emotion*; it described the object of that ancient (and savage) feeling, which combines *reverence* and *horror* in a manner to us hardly intelligible, in spite of the abundant explanations of anthropologists. In this sense the grave is here called an ἀπότροπον ἄγος, because it is a thing which men keep away from their lives and thoughts. To touch a grave was of course a religious *pollution*, and this is part of the idea, but a part only.—Conington refers ἀπότροπον to δάκρυ and makes ἄγος object of ἀπότροπον (*averting pollution*, see on *v.* 23): but this, though within grammatical rule, seems beyond the limits of what is practically intelligible, nor is the sense satisfactory.—τὸ ἐξῆς,... ἴστε δάκρυ ἄγος ἀπεύχετον (τὸ δάκρυ γὰρ ἀπευκτὸν ἄγος εἶπεν) schol. This note probably rests on a theory of some ancient editor that ἄλγος (M) was admissible as a synonym of ἄγος, for in *Supp.* 380—381 M has ἄλγος in the lyric verse and ἄγος in the iambic, though it is impossible not to see that the one refers to the other. But ἄλγος, as all modern critics assume, is an error.

156. **κλύε...μοι:** *hear my prayer:* "the pronoun has the same relation to the verb in θεὰ δέ οἱ ἔκλυεν ἀρῆς *Od.* 4. 767, though 'prayer' is here unexpressed" (S.). Conington (after Wordsworth) cites Hom. *Od.* 2. 263 κλῦθί μοι, Solon *Carm.* 5. 2 κλῦτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ etc. At the same time it is not untrue to say (Wecklein) that μοι defines σέβας (*object of my worship*). It belongs to the whole sentence. For the voc. σέβας cf. Eur. *Iph. A.* 633 ὦ σέβας ἐμοὶ μέγιστον, Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.—**ἐξ ἀμαυρᾶς φρενός.** ἀμαυρός is either literally 'dark, obscure', or metaphorically 'weak'. The scholia hesitate between referring the φρήν (1) to the speakers themselves, and (2) to Agamemnon (τῆς ἀσθενούσης, ὡς πρὸς σύγκρισιν Ἠλέκτρας, ἢ ὅτι σκιὰ οἱ νεκροί). Conington cites *Ag.* 555 ὡς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενὸς μ' (or σ') ἀναστένειν as conclusive in favour of (1). But there is a great difference between 'sighing with a helpless soul' and 'hearing with' or 'from a helpless soul', in the sense of 'hearing (what is uttered) from a helpless soul'. *Prima facie* it seems that the φρήν must be that of ὁ κλύων (*Let thy dark soul hear*), the consciousness of the dead being ἀμαυρός, because it belongs to the dim world.

161. **Σκυθικά τ'** Robortello. The ησ of M has originated in a κ, read as ιc (uncial for ισ).

161—163. 'Shaking at (the foe) the

Σκυθικά τ' ἐν χεροῖν παλίντον'
ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη 'πιπάλλων Ἄρης
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν βέλη.
ΗΛ. ἔχει μὲν ἤδη γαπότους χοὰς πατήρ,
νέου δὲ μύθου τοῦδε κοινωνήσατε. 165
ΧΟ. λέγοις ἄν· ὀρχεῖται δὲ καρδία φόβῳ.
ΗΛ. ὁρῶ τομαῖον τόνδε βόστρυχον τάφῳ.
ΧΟ. τίνος ποτ' ἀνδρὸς, ἢ βαθυζώνου κόρης;
ΗΛ. εὐξύμβολον τόδ' ἐστὶ παντὶ δοξάσαι.

161. Σκυθιτάτ'. 164. ἀπό του. See also *v.* 123.

bow and wielding the sword'.—**Σκυθικά**: the epithet, like the grandiose Ἄρης and the double equipment, mark the deliverer as utterly remote and visionary, in contrast to the plain reality of the deliverer close at hand, whose presence they are just about to discover.—**βέλη** *weapons* generally; see Soph. *Ai.* 658 and L. and Sc. *s.v.*—The Scythian bow was shaped somewhat like a Σ: **Σκυθικῷ τε τόξῳ τὸ τρίτον** (the third letter in **Θησεύς**) **ἦν προσεμφερές** (Agathon in Ath. x. p. 454, cited by Wecklein), and **παλίντονα** signifies that the pull of it was in the reverse direction from the setting on of its limbs.—**σχέδια αὐτόκωπα**: *close-fighting, hilt and all* (cf. **αὐτόπρεμνος** etc.), because the swordsman's weapon remains entire in his grasp, whereas the arrow parts from the bow and wounds at a distance. The contrasted types are together put for 'every weapon'.—**βέλη** in *v.* 162 is perhaps to be omitted (Heimsoeth) as an explanation; but Greek writers had not at all the modern dislike of mere repetition (see e.g. *vv.* 234, 236), and the omission makes some obscurity.—**αὐτόκωπα τὰ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα τὴν λαβὴν ξίφη** (?), **σχέδια δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σχεδὸν φονεύοντα καὶ οὐ πόρρωθεν, ὥσπερ τὰ βέλη.** The latter part of this note suggests that **βέλη**, in the sense of '*thrown* weapons', are contrasted with **ξίφη**. Hence some read **ξίφη** in *v.* 163. But the insertion of **ξίφη** in the first part of the note implies rather that the word was not in the text, and the use of **βέλη** in the narrower and commoner sense by the commentator is probably accidental.

164—233. The *Anagnorisis* or *Recognition*. For the general criticism and explanation of this scene see the Introduction.

164. **γαπότους**. Turnebus.

166. **φόβῳ**: lest their audacious rite should have been spied (as in fact it has been) by the person whose previous presence the lock in Electra's hand reveals.

167. **τομαῖον...τάφῳ**: 'cut (as an offering) for the tomb'.

168. **βαθυζώνου κόρης**: *woman*; the epithet is 'constant'.

169. Electra, who has inspected the lock closely, has already marked its peculiar quality, and thinks that the slave's recognition will confirm her own. But the interlocutor, scared half out of her senses, and naturally less quick to such an observation than one of the family, does *not* notice the quality, until Electra, after several attempts at suggestion, points it out expressly, *v.* 175.—**τόδε** refers strictly to the question last raised, whether the hair is possibly a woman's. Given the assumption (that it is the hair of a Pelopid) which Electra has already made in her own mind, there exists no woman, but Electra, whose hair it could be.

ΧΟ. πῶς οὖν; παλαιὰ παρὰ νεωτέρας μάθω.
ΗΛ. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐμοῦ κείραιτό νιν...
ΧΟ. ἐχθροὶ γὰρ οἷς προσῆκε πενθῆσαι τριχί.
ΗΛ. καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ἐστὶ κάρτ' ἰδεῖν ὁμόπτερος—
ΧΟ. ποίαις ἐθείραις; τοῦτο γὰρ θέλω μαθεῖν.
ΗΛ. αὐτοῖσιν ἡμῖν κάρτα προσφερὴς ἰδεῖν.—
ΧΟ. μῶν οὖν Ὀρέστου κρύβδα δῶρον ἢ τόδε;
ΗΛ. μάλιστ' ἐκείνου βοστρύχοις προσείδεται.

171. κειρετό νεῖν. 176. ἦ.

170. *How then* (is it to be conjectured)? *Let thy younger wit instruct my age.* This seems a simpler punctuation than πῶς οὖν...μάθω; 'How shall I be instructed?'.

171. κείραιτό νιν Turnebus. '*The person who cut it can be none but me...*'. She pauses, thinking that the other will now see the resemblance and say "Or one of your house!" But the slave's replies show that she does not catch the point at all, and Electra is compelled to be explicit.—"νιν must be the lock [as in *v.* 188], not Agamemnon, as Linwood and Conington take it; for (1) there is no example of κείρεσθαί τινα 'to cut hair off in mourning for a person': (2) there is no mention of Agamemnon for νιν to refer to: (3) κείρεσθαι κόμην is the regular construction both in Homer (*Od.* 4. 198, 24. 96) and Tragedy (Eur. *Tro.* 1183, *Phoen.* 326)". Sidgwick.—Con.'s objection is that "Electra could never mean to say *There is no one but myself who would cut off this lock.*" This however, reading 'might' for 'would', is what she does mean; but it becomes intelligible only when the basis of the scene is correctly conceived. See the Introduction.—For the optative κείραιτο see on *Ag.* 625.

172. 'You mean that, except yourself, the only persons connected with Agamemnon and in that respect likely to make the offering (his wife and his cousin) are morally disqualified'. This is not at all what Electra means; it would have been an argument weak in any case, and in the existing circumstances worthless. The slave adopts this interpretation, because she sees no other.—In οἷς προσῆκε only those relatives are thought of who are supposed to be within reach. Without the startling fact, which Electra has seen and now indicates, there is nothing to suggest a guess so improbable as the presence of Orestes.

173. καὶ μήν: formula used in calling attention, *See!*—ὁμόπτερος: see the Introduction.

174. Even now the respondent cannot finish Electra's sentence, not even when she is told that there is a resemblance to notice. She is no doubt supposed to be slow and unobservant; but there is more than this. It is most important, for the conduct of the story, to have it clear, that the physical distinctions, which identify Orestes, though indisputable when pointed out and examined, are *not* such as easily to catch the eye. In the case of the hair this might be doubtful, if we were not expressly assured of it.

175. αὐτοῖσιν ἡμῖν: *that of my own family*, 'ourselves' rather than 'myself'. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 17. 51 κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι.—Here there is a long pause. Note that the first suggestion of Orestes comes from the slave, who does not yet see what Electra, quicker in thought, has seen, the sinister inference to which this suggestion would lead (*v.* 179).

176. κρύβδα δῶρον: 'a thing secretly given by'.—Either ἤ (the usual reading; see on *Theb.* 183) or ἦν (Scholefield,

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἐκεῖνος δεῦρ' ἐτόλμησεν μολεῖν ;
ΗΛ. ἔπεμψε χαίτην κουρίμην χάριν πατρός.
ΧΟ. οὐχ ἧσσον εὐδάκρυτά μοι λέγεις τάδε, 180
εἰ τῆσδε χώρας μήποτε ψαύσει ποδί.
ΗΛ. κἀμοὶ προσέστη καρδίας κλυδώνιον
χολῆς, ἐπαίσθην δ' ὡς διανταίῳ βέλει·
ἐξ ὀμμάτων δὲ δίψιοι πίπτουσί μοι

179. ἔπεμψεν καὶ τὴν. 181. ψαύδει, H over ει by corrector.

Paley) seems admissible: but ἦν would probably have been preserved by the MS. —μὴν οὖν ; = 'may it then possibly be?'.

179. 'As a shorn offering *to* his father'. *Ag.* 1385 τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς...εὐκταίαν χάριν (Conington and others), πατρὸς χέοντες λοῦτρα Soph. *El.* 84.—πατρί Turnebus.—χαίτην Victorius: ἔπεμψεν καὶ τὴν M.—If Orestes has *sent* his hair to his father's grave (by far the most probable supposition, if the hair is his at all), then it is likely that there has arisen the most obvious occasion for sending such an offering, namely as a memento upon his death. See Soph. *El.* 932, Aesch. *Theb.* 49. This explains the following lines.

180. οὐχ ἧσσον εὐδάκρυτα: a *meiosis* for 'more cause to weep than ever'.

181. ψαύσει Turnebus. The strange ψαύδει of M is a good example of a correction misapplied (see on *Ag.* 147). The δει is from a marginal δι, which really referred to an erroneous ποσί, but was retained in the margin after the true ποδί had been restored.

182. 'A wave of bitter thought rose within me'.—καρδίας: *from within me*: the gen. is 'local of the place from which' and depends upon ἔστη, as in ἵστασθαι βάθρων *to rise from a seat*. So nearly Conington (and Sidgwick).—ἐμοὶ προσέστη ('rose to me') was used colloquially in the sense of 'a thought occurs to me' (see L. and Sc. *s.v.* προσίστημι) and has that sense here; but the poet, fixing on the suggestion of ἔστη, converts the phrase into poetry by the metaphor of the rising wave (Hom. *Il.* 21. 240).—The conjectures καρδίᾳ (Scaliger) and καρδίαν (Heimsoeth) seem contrary to fact. The physical sensation of bitter anger and grief is of something which rises in the throat from within. It is in terror and horror that the movement is inwards πρὸς καρδίαν (see *Ag.* 1110).—καρδίας is, or supplies, also a definition of κλυδώνιον χολῆς, but is not to be separated from ἔστη.—The aorist (ἔστην... ἐπαίσθην) is often used in description of the feelings, where English would prefer a present.—ἐπαίσθην Canter.

184—185. δίψιοι is somewhat obscure; but discussion of it has been unduly enlarged by neglect of the order. What we have to explain is not δίψιοι στάγονες, but ἐξ ὀμμάτων δίψιοι πίπτουσι. This excludes all interpretations which refer δίψιος to the quality of tears, and shows that 'draining the eyes' (Wordsworth, Paley) is at least approximate. We may perhaps come nearer by observing that the figure is that of a flood during a storm (δύσχιμος πλημμυρίς), which breaks through a fence or dam no longer able to contain it (ἄφρακτοι). The στάγονες are the drops which, oozing through the barrier, mark that it is yielding and about to give way. In what sense can this first water be said to 'fall, thirsty'? Only, I think, because it is the precursor which invites the flood to follow. Aeschylus, by one of his personifying glances (see examples in the *Agamemnon*, Index, *s.v.* Personification) regards the situation from the point of view,

σταγόνες ἄφρακτοι δυσχίμου πλημμυρίδος,
πλόκαμον ἰδούσῃ τόνδε. πῶς γὰρ ἐλπίσω
ἀστῶν τιν' ἄλλον τῆσδε δεσπόζειν φόβης;
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μήν νιν ἡ κτανοῦσ' ἐκείρατο,
ἐμὴ δὲ μήτηρ, οὐδαμῶς ἐπώνυμον
φρόνημα παισὶ δύσθεον πεπαμένη.
ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως μὲν ἄντικρυς τάδ' αἰνέσω,
εἶναι τόδ' ἀγλάισμά μοι τοῦ φιλτάτου
βροτῶν Ὀρέστου,—σαίνομαι δ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδος.
φεῦ.
εἴθ' εἶχε φωνὴν εὔφρον' ἀγγέλου δίκην,
ὅπως δίφροντις οὖσα μὴ 'κινυσσόμην,

195. μὴκηνυσσόμην.

so to speak, of the drops, which call for, or 'thirst for', the mass of water from which they are parted. As applied to the tears, the comparison marks both the difficulty of weeping in a great agony and the volume of the passion which seeks escape.

186. **ἔλπίσω** (aor. subj.): *how can I imagine?*—See the Introduction.—The argument, which, as is natural in one reasoning with herself, is hinted rather than expressed, would, if set out fully, run thus: "No ordinary Argive could have this hair; for it is the hair of a Pelopid. There *is* indeed something about it like that of my mother; but it is certainly not hers either. I dare not assent positively to the conclusion that it is that of Orestes, partly because it may very well be that of Aegisthus (the ἐχθρὸν κάρα of *v.* 197), partly because, if it is that of Orestes, there is reason to fear that he is dead. I may flatter myself with the *hope* that it is his, and that he lives: but I know only that it belongs to him or Aegisthus. To which, only the hair itself could say". Given the story, as known beforehand to the audience, the reasoning is perfectly clear; and the form of expression is admirably true to nature. But without the story it would be unintelligible.

189. **δὲ**: strictly 'the murderess, and withal my mother'. See on *v.* 126.—**ἐπώνυμον μητρός**: 'answering to the name of mother'. Electra is thinking chiefly of her cruel mission to the grave.

192. **εἶναι**: 'that it really *is*'. The position of the word would perhaps not import a stress, but it is probably intended.—**ἀγλάισμα**: *ornament* of the tomb, or of Orestes? Perhaps rather both. Euripides (*El.* 325) seems to have referred it to the tomb.

193. The verb of doubt (**οὐκ οἶδα**), upon which **ὅπως** κτλ. should depend, is passed over, together with the grounds for doubt, by a transition to the happiest possibility of the case. Mr Sidgwick refers to *Ag.* 503, 571, 1095, for instances of *aposiopesis*. The two first are similar to this.

194. "**εὔφρονα** *kindly, gracious* (the regular meaning of this common word in Aeschylus), a beautiful word for *human*. Auratus' **ἔμφρον'**, which Hermann adopts, is far less poetic, and indeed hardly appropriate" Sidgwick. Conington and Paley also retain **εὔφρον'**.

195. **ὅπως...μὴ 'κινυσσόμην** (Turn.) *that I might not have been tossed*. Where the principal sentence expresses something supposed and contrary to the fact, final sentences depending on it are normally in the imperfect or aorist indicative.

ἀλλ' εὖ 'σαφήνει τόνδ' ἀποπτύσαι πλόκον,
εἴπερ γ' ἀπ' ἐχθροῦ κρατὸς ἦν τετμημένος,
ἢ ξυγγενὴς ὢν εἶχε συμπενθεῖν ἐμοί,
ἄγαλμα τύμβου τοῦδε καὶ τιμὴν πατρός.
ἀλλ' εἰδότας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς καλούμεθα,
οἵοισιν ἐν χειμῶσι ναυτίλων δίκην
στροβούμεθ'· εἰ δὲ χρὴ τυχεῖν σωτηρίας,
σμικροῦ γένοιτ' ἂν σπέρματος μέγας πυθμήν.—
καὶ μὴν στίβοι γε, δεύτερον τεκμήριον,...
ποδῶν δ'...ὅμοιοι,...τοῖς τ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς·

196. σαφηνῆ. 201. δίκῃ.

196. **'σαφήνει** (Paley, Conington, Sidgwick), *but that it might plainly have told me*. For the verb cf. διασαφηνέω. The only objection to this reading (that, since the subject of ἐσαφήνει is ὁ πλόκος, we might expect rather αὐτόν than τόνδε πλόκον) would not be felt in a language which habitually used τόνδ' ἄνδρα for ἐμέ. —**εὖ σάφ' ἦν ἥ** Wellauer and others. Here, since σάφ' ἐστί, for *it is clear*, is ungrammatical, ἦν must stand for ἐξῆν. So practically Wecklein, 'eine sichere Entscheidung gegeben wäre'. But even so σάφα is scarcely appropriate.

198. **ξυγγενὴς ὤν**: *or, sharing my blood, might have shared my mourning too*: συγγενής is to be taken in the fullest and strongest sense; strictly speaking only brothers and sisters are absolutely συγγενεῖς.—There is a slight irregularity in the structure of the period, which should have continued with a clause in oratio obliqua answering to ἢ τόνδ' ἀποπτύσαι πλόκον, *e.g.* ἢ ξυγγενὴς ὢν ἔχειν κτλ., *or that it is brother to me and capable of sharing* etc.

200—202. **μὲν...δὲ**. That the gods at any rate know her need, is a first point, to which she adds that destiny can bring much out of little.

201. **δίκην** Robortello.

203. **γένοιτ' ἂν σπέρματος**: *might grow from a seed*. See *Theb.* 20 ὅπως γένοισθε.—This metaphor may have suggested to Sophocles the form of Clytaemnestra's dream in his *Electra* (*v.* 419).

204 foll. See the Introduction.

205. **ποδῶν δ' ὅμοιοι**: literally 'and (they are) marks of feet, similar marks'. On the corrective **δέ**, which indicates that this is a fresh point in the discovery, see *v.* 126. The tracks (as in ordinary circumstances would naturally be the case) are supposed to be very faint. Electra at first sees only that the ground *is marked*; for στίβος does not mean *foot-mark* but simply *mark* or *print* (see *e.g. Ag.* 420 ὦ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες). Then, stooping down to examine them more closely, she next ascertains that they are the marks *of feet*. The addition of ὅμοιοι means simply that this conclusion, that the marks are foot-marks, is certified by comparing one with another, by noting their similarity and the fact that they occur in pairs.—The difficulty raised here is entirely created by the assumption that **δέ**, which is essential, is incorrect, and that στίβοι...ἐμφερεῖς is one continuous expression. Hence the translation of ποδῶν ὅμοιοι by (1) 'like *my* feet' or (2) 'like *his* feet', both of which force the words and confuse the context. See Conington's note. Conington himself, rejecting both *my* and *his*, seems to imply tacitly that στίβοι ποδῶν ὅμοιοι means *marks like those of feet*. But (not to say that this should rather be ποσὶν ὅμοιοι) the leap from ποδῶν

καὶ γὰρ δύ' ἐστὸν τώδε περιγραφὰ ποδοῖν,
αὐτοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ συνεμπόρου τινός·
πτέρναι τενόντων θ' ὑπογραφαὶ μετρούμεναι
εἰς ταὐτὸ συμβαίνουσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς στίβοις.
πάρεστι δ' ὠδὶς καὶ φρενῶν καταφθορά.
ΟΡ. εὔχου τὰ λοιπά, τοῖς θεοῖς τελεσφόρους
εὐχὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσα, τυγχάνειν καλῶς.
ΗΛ. ἐπεὶ τί νῦν ἔκατι δαιμόνων κυρῶ;
ΟΡ. εἰς ὄψιν ἥκεις ὧνπερ ἐξηύχου πάλαι.
ΗΛ. καὶ τίνα σύνοισθά μοι καλουμένη βροτῶν;

214. ἐξηύκου.

ὅμοιοι to τοῖς τ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς is then abrupt and unnatural, whereas the text gives the natural stages.

205. τοῖς τ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς (στίβοις): *and like my* (*marks*). See the Introduction.

206. Her belief, that there are foot-marks which have the peculiarity noted in τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς, is confirmed when she observes that there are also marks of an ordinary foot, which *display the difference*. Here it is again assumed that the marks are very faint; if this is kept in view the reasoning is quite simple. The condensed expression is natural to her excitement, as Conington says; but there is no gap in the argument.

208—209. This sentence commences properly without a conjunction, because it is simply an expanded repetition of τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς, the confirmatory argument (*vv.* 206—207) being parenthetic. This detail is worth notice as supporting the true interpretation of *vv.* 208—209. If these verses asserted more than is already asserted in τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς they would naturally have a copula. See the Introduction.

211. τοῖς θεοῖς...ἐπαγγέλλουσα: *announcing to the gods the fulfilment of thy prayers*. (So Wecklein, rightly.) Electra may ask the gods to fulfil her prayers in future, *as* they have fulfilled them now. The form of expression belongs to a polytheism which did not, at least steadily and permanently, conceive the gods as omniscient. We should rather say '*thanking* God for the fulfilment'.—Conington (and others) render ἐπαγγέλλουσα εὐχάς by 'preferring prayers', joining the participle not with εὔχου but with τυγχάνειν. But this does not satisfy the meaning of ἐπαγγέλλειν, and makes the participial clause otiose.

213. τίνος γὰρ ἤδη ἐπέτυχον ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅτι εἶπες "τὰ λοιπά"; schol.—ἔκατι. This verse is in syntax continuous with the preceding: κυρῶ and the interrogative form are substituted for the κυρεῖς and affirmative form, which Orestes might have used, if he had explained his τὰ λοιπά himself. For a similar use of ἀλλά and γάρ in stichomuthia see on Eur. *Med.* 325—327.—ἔκατι δαιμόνων: 'by the will of heaven', literally 'because of'; see *v.* 435.

214. ἐξηύχου Robortello.

215. καὶ τίνα. For the rare initial dactyl see *Ag.* 7, *inf.* 984, *frag.* 304. 4, if the reading ἥλιος ἐν ᾗ πυρωπὸς ἐκλάμψας χθονί be correct (but see Dindorf *ed.* 1868) and perhaps *Theb.* 640.—*And whom dost thou know that I was invoking?*: συνειδέναι, signifying properly 'to share some *private* knowledge with', marks the surprise and anxiety of Electra at finding that her rite has been observed.

ΟΡ. σύνοιδ' Ὀρέστην, πολλά σ' ἐκπαγλούμενος.
ΗΛ. καὶ πρὸς τί δῆτα τυγχάνω κατευγμάτων;
ΟΡ. ὅδ' εἰμί· μὴ μάτευ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον φίλον.
ΗΛ. ἀλλ' ἦ δόλον τιν', ὦ ξέν', ἀμφί μοι πλέκεις;
ΟΡ. αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ τἄρα μηχανορραφῶ. 220
ΗΛ. ἀλλ' ἐν κακοῖσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς γελᾶν θέλεις.
ΟΡ. κἀν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἄρ', εἴπερ ἔν γε τοῖσι σοῖς.
ΗΛ. ὡς ὄντ' Ὀρέστην τἄρ' ἐγώ σε προυννέπω—
ΟΡ. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὁρῶσα δυσμαθεῖς ἐμέ·

216. ἐκπαγλουμένης. 218. μάστευ'. 223. τάδ'. 224. νῦν.

216. *I know that thou wast invoking Orestes, and much I am amazed at thee, i.e.* 'that thou dost not welcome Orestes himself'. With σύνοιδα is to be supplied σοὶ καλουμένῃ from the question.—ἐκπαγλουμένην Robortello and almost all texts, with the rendering 'I know that thou art sore troubled about (makest much concern about) Orestes'. But (1) no authority is cited for the sense put upon ἐκπαγλουμένην: (2) when the answer repeats the question (σύνοισθα;...σύνοιδα), it is confusing and improper that the construction of the repeated word should be changed (hence the conjecture σοι 'κπαγλουμένῃ), or that the general sense should be changed (hence σ' ἐκκαλουμένην): (3) the supposed corruption is unexplained and not probable. In reality we have another example (see *v.* 181) of a correction misapplied. To the words as above given, which for want of punctuation seemed unintelligible, some one appended in the margin ης, meaning to suggest the reading Ὀρέστης, which would make grammar and sense; a too obedient copyist put this mechanically in the nearest place.

218. The form μαστεύω probably existed; but μάτευ' (given in one of the inferior copies) is of course right.

219. ἀλλ' ἦ: an interrogative assertion 'But surely this is some trick?' In *v.* 770 the tone and sense is slightly different.

223. *As if thou wert Orestes then I bid thee—welcome,* she would have said, προυννέπω χαίρειν (Soph. *Trach.* 227), when Orestes, seeing that she misunderstands him, interrupts her. She is so far reassured, as to hope that he is a person to be trusted, perhaps an emissary and representative of her brother; and she welcomes him *as* Orestes (the emphasis is on ὡς). But she does not take him to *be* her brother, or to have said that he is. His ὅδ' εἰμί· μὴ μάτευ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον φίλον, 'Here am I, as much your friend as any could be', is quite open to her interpretation, and even suggests it.—Most of the conjectures offered upon this verse assume either (1) that προυννέπω has the sense of προσεννέπω (*address*), or (2) that προσεννέπω itself is to be inserted, which cannot be done without violence. The explanation, both of the error and of the difficulty found in mending it, is that the sentence is broken off. Since it is broken in the middle of a formula, it is already intelligible.—ὡς ὄντ' Ὀρέστην τάδε λέγω σε προυννέπειν; Weil (and Wecklein): *Am I to understand you to mean by these declarations that you are Orestes?* This is not open to the objections which apply to the rest; but the change is considerable, and the use of προυννέπειν doubtful: nor does the question lead, I think, quite properly to the answer.

224. μὲν οὖν negatives and corrects her ὡς ὄντα: there is no 'as' in the matter.

κουρὰν δ' ἰδοῦσα τήνδε κηδείου τριχὸς
ἀνεπτερώθης κἀδόκεις ὁρᾶν ἐμέ,
ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τ' ἐν στίβοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς.
σαυτῆς ἀδελφοῦ, συμμέτρου τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ,
σκέψαι τομῇ προσθεῖσα βόστρυχον τριχός.
ἰδοῦ δ' ὕφασμα τοῦτο, σῆς ἔργον χερός,
σπάθης τε πληγὰς, εἰς δὲ θήρειον γραφήν,—
ἔνδον γενοῦ, χαρᾷ δὲ μὴ 'κπλαγῇς φρένας.

229. το μὴ. 231. θήριον.

225—227. "Orestes is pointing out Electra's inconsistency in doubting ocular demonstration after having just accepted much more equivocal evidence... Peile rightly renders *ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τε* '*as well as* when you were on the quest in my footprints'; and Klausen not inaptly refers to *Ag.* (249) *χέουσα ἔβαλλε... πρέπουσα θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς*" (Conington). Compare also the position of *τε* with coupled adjectives; see on *Ag.* 414. The order of the verses 226 and 227 (which some transpose) is in fact the only natural order, when what is meant is not 'you were excited by the two indications together' but 'you were excited by the lock, and again by the foot-marks'.

228. *The lock is from the head of thine own brother, formed as thine own; put it to the place from which it was cut, and see.*—**τομῇ** Turn.—**σαυτῆς...κάρᾳ.** The order of the sentence is arranged so as to emphasize these words, which contain the clinching proof of Orestes' identity. In syntax **ἀδελφοῦ** depends on *βόστρυχον τριχός*. Displacement of the normal order is the regular instrument of emphasis in highly inflected language, and one of its chief advantages. Thus arranged, the sentence expresses compactly what we, with some loss of impressiveness, must give in two clauses. The absence of copula, abrupt in Greek, also aids the effect.—**συμμέτρου τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ**: 'whose *head* has the proportions of thine'; the grammatical abbreviation is the converse of *βόστρυχος ἡμῖν προσφερὴς hair like ours* *v.* 175. See the Introduction.—The alterations, transpositions, and mistranslations of this passage all proceed from the tacit assumption that *συμμέτρου τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ* has *not* the only meaning which the words will bear. Thus (1) Klausen, Peile and Conington take *v.* 228 with the preceding sentence, translating *συμμέτρου τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ* 'whose *person* has the proportions of thine'; to which it is properly answered that *κάρα* is 'a most unhappy and confusing word' by which to describe equality *in the feet.* (2) De Pauw and Schütz change *συμμέτρου* to *σύμμετρον*, and Hermann (followed by Dindorf and many others) would place *v.* 228, with or without de Pauw's correction, after *v.* 229, in order that *συμμέτρου* (*-ον*) *τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ* may be referable to *τριχός* (or *βόστρυχον*) 'hair like that of thy head'; to which Klausen properly answers that *σύμμετρος* is not *ὅμοιος*, and that for *τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ* we should then expect *τῇ σῇ κόμῃ* (or *σοί*). Further, *τομῇ* has been changed to *κόμῃ*, *κάρᾳ* to *ποδί*, *v.* 228 placed (with alteration) after *v.* 225, and in fact every possible variation attempted in vain. But the labour has not been wasted; for it helps to show that the text is sound.

230. **ὕφασμα**: see the Introduction.

231. **σπάθης πληγὰς**: *the strokes of the batten*, with which the woof-threads, after several had been passed through the warp, were driven close. To do this neatly and evenly throughout was an operation of skill (cf. the proverb *λίαν σπαθᾶν*). No doubt Orestes directs at-

ΗΛ. *τοὺς φιλτάτους γὰρ οἶδα νῷν ὄντας πικρούς.—* 233
ΧΟ. *ὦ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασιν πατρός,*

tention to the work as clearly that of a young hand, such as Electra's must have been (Eur. *El.* 541). Similar peculiarities are observed in the ὕφασμα by which Ion is identified (Eur. *Ion* 1419, 1491). Aeschylus had in fact noted the possible difficulty which Euripides raises (*εἰ δὲ κἄκρεκον πέπλους*), and utilises it.—**εἰς δὲ θήρειον γραφήν** (ἰδοῦ): *nay, and look at the pattern in animals.* The reading, retained by Conington, is right. **δέ** is used, exactly as in *v.* 205, to mark that this is not merely a point added, but a step forward to something stronger; and the verb is changed from ἰδοῦ (*see*) to ἰδοῦ **εἰς** (*look at*) in order to call the attention. It is possible, as Conington says, that the independent and quasi-verbal use of the preposition in archaic language has recommended the expression: cf. *Il.* 3. 268 *ὦρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἂν δ' Ὀδυσεύς.* The matter is scarcely one for argument; but I do not myself feel any difficulty in the text.—**ἠδὲ** Turn. This word, which is confined by Aeschylus almost entirely to catalogues of titles and like matters of pomp, will be best considered in connexion with the *Persae.* It seems that it would here be out of place.—**θήρειον** Bamberger, for *θηρίον* M.

233. I take this verse to be said by Electra, to herself rather than to Orestes, as she controls with difficulty the outbreak of her joy. After this, all remain silent and overcome for some moments, and the by-standers, as seems natural, are the first to speak collectedly.—M marks no change of speaker at *v.* 233, leaving this verse to Orestes; but it is then perhaps necessary to change **οἶδα** to οἴσθα (Hartung). Since Orestes cannot suppose Electra to require information respecting the position of the family, **οἶδα** in his mouth seems pointless, unless we suppose some rather artificial ellipse, such as 'Be calm (and I shall not misunderstand your feelings) for' etc.

234—262. The distribution of parts is doubtful. M gives the whole to Electra, which (*v.* 251) is impossible. It seems certain that *vv.* 237—242 belong to Electra and *vv.* 245—253 to Orestes. The other portions must be considered briefly. (1) *vv.* 234—236 may be joined to the next speech; but *v.* 237 looks like a commencement, and the tenderness of it is marred by the more distant and impersonal address preceding. The language of *vv.* 234—236 suits the chorus (see notes), to whom they are given by Rossbach. Rossbach also places them after *v.* 242 and joins with them *vv.* 243—244 (emended). This however is a rather violent proceeding and, I think, inexpedient. (2) *vv.* 243—244. If these are read as in M, they must of course belong to Electra; and I see no reason to change the text. (3) *vv.* 254—262. I follow Hermann in assigning these to Electra, not to Orestes. Certainty is impossible, but the mistake of the MS. in leaving to Electra the whole passage (*vv.* 234—262) is more easily accounted for on Hermann's supposition, and the two *antistrophic* speeches (nine lines each), suggesting others to follow, lead up to the interposition of the chorus (*ὦ παῖδες v.* 263) better than one twice as long from Orestes.

234. **μέλημα** 'object of attention', or 'observance'. The word expresses anxious respect and is appropriate to the speakers; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 150 *μέλον πάλαι μέλημά μοι λέγεις, ἄναξ, φρουρεῖν δμῳ' ἐπὶ σῷ μάλιστα καιρῷ.* So also **δώμασιν** *to the house* is a proper term to include the slaves; and it is natural that they, rather than the brother and sister, should fix at once upon material interests and the hard facts of the situation. Cf. *vv.* 264, 510, and indeed the whole part of the chorus in this scene.

δακρυτὸς ἐλπὶς σπέρματος σωτηρίου,
ἀλκῇ πεποιθὼς δῶμ' ἀνακτήσει πατρός.
ΗΛ. ὦ τερπνὸν ὄμμα τέσσαρας μοίρας ἔχον
ἐμοί· προσαυδᾶν δ' ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον
πατέρα τε, καὶ τὸ μητρὸς ἐς σέ μοι ῥέπει
στέργηθρον (ἡ δὲ πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται),
καὶ τῆς τυθείσης νηλεῶς ὁμοσπόρου·
πιστὸς δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦσθ', ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων
μόνος· Κράτος τε καὶ Δίκη σὺν τῷ τρίτῳ
πάντων μεγίστῳ Ζηνὶ συγγένοιτό μοι.
ΟΡ. Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, θεωρὸς τῶνδε πρηγμάτων γενοῦ·
ἰδοῦ δὲ γένναν εἴνιν αἰετοῦ πατρός,

245. πρηγμάτων *sic.* 246. γεννανιν.

235. 'Its long-wept hope of seed to continue it'. Note that in the figure the 'tears' are as water to the 'hope of seed'. —**σπέρματος σωτηρίου**: *i.e.* 'male continuation', *σωτήριος* signifying 'preservative (from annihilation)' rather than 'deliverer (from present trouble)'. Through Orestes only would the line of right male heirs be carried on. See the Introduction.

237. **ὄμμα.** Wecklein compares *ὦ δυσθέατον ὄμμα*, the cry of Teucer at the sight of his dead brother's face Soph. *Ai.* 1004; see also the exquisite verse of Euripides *εἰς ὄμματ' εὔνου φωτὸς ἐμβλέψαι γλυκύ* (*Ion* 732).—"*μοίρας* 'fourfold love', *Morshead*, lit. 'four parts or shares' of love. He is (as Schütz suggests) clearly adapting most happily the idea of Andromache's touching appeal to Hektor in *Il.* 6. 429: Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ | ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης" (Sidgwick).

240. **ἡ δὲ...ἐχθαίρεται**: see on *v.* 133.

241. **ὁμοσπόρου**: Iphigenia, see *Ag.* 194 foll. This reference to the crime of the father is a fine touch, reminding us that we are to hold by the morality of the preceding play. Agamemnon's death was a divine punishment, though inflicted by wicked hands.

242—244. "**ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων μόνος**: 'the only one from whom I have had a kinsman's regards'. *σέβας φέρειν* like *χάριν φέρειν*, *κλέος φέρειν τινι*...Electra complains of her dishonoured state, *v.* (444) *ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία*.—**μόνος**...In Eur. *El.* 581 Orestes speaks of himself as *σύμμαχός γέ σοι μόνος*. Here the word *μόνος* suggests the prayer which follows for the divine aid", or rather a prayer that the gods will raise her to a place and power more worthy of his *worship*. "*τρίτος* implies the notion *σωτήρ* as in *vv.* (576, 1071) *Ag.* 257, 1386" etc. (Conington).—**τε** *and so*; it is not to be joined with *καί* in the sense *both...and*.—*μόνον* Κράτος τε κτλ. ('only may Might' etc.) Turn., *σοι* (for *μοι*) Stanley. But by these changes *ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων* is shorn of its point, and *vv.* 243—244 are so divorced from the context as to prompt the suspicion (see *vv.* 234 foll.) that they have been displaced. M has a colon at *φέρων*, but by mistake.

246. **γένναν εὔνιν**, *orphan brood*, Turnebus, a fine correction.—**αἰετοῦ**: the Atridae are eagles in *Ag.* 115 foll., Clytaemnestra a snake in *inf.* 992 and elsewhere. The combat of the eagle and snake (see Hom. *Il.* 12. 200) is a prevalent type in Greek poetry and art.

θανόντος ἐν πλεκταῖσι καὶ σπειράμασιν
δεινῆς ἐχίδνης· τοὺς δ' ἀπωρφανισμένους
νῆστις πιέζει λιμός· οὐ γὰρ ἐντελὴς
θήρα πατρῷα προσφέρειν σκηνήμασιν.
οὕτω δὲ κἀμὲ τήνδε τ', Ἠλέκτραν λέγω,
ἰδεῖν πάρεστί σοι, πατροστερῆ γόνον,
ἄμφω φυγὴν ἔχοντε τὴν αὐτὴν δόμων.
ΗΛ. καὶ τοῦ θυτῆρος καί σε τιμῶντος μέγα
πατρὸς νεοσσοὺς τούσδ' ἀποφθείρας πόθεν
ἔξεις ὁμοίας χειρὸς εὔθοινον γέρας;
οὔτ' αἰετοῦ γένεθλ' ἀποφθείρας πάλιν
πέμπειν ἔχοις ἂν σήματ' εὐπιθῆ βροτοῖς,
οὔτ' ἀρχικός σοι πᾶς ὅδ' αὐανθεὶς πυθμὴν
βωμοῖς ἀρήξει βουθύτοις ἐν ἥμασιν.
κόμιζ', ἀπὸ σμικροῦ δ' ἂν ἄρειας μέγαν
δόμον, δοκοῦντα κάρτα νῦν πεπτωκέναι.

250. θῆρα πατρῶα· 251. ἐγώ. 261. δαναρίας.

249. See Appendix I. § 7.

251. **λέγω**. Aldus: the Λ was confused with the preceding N and so lost. The form of expression is intended to emphasize the case of Electra as not less hard and unjust than his own, though she is not, in the same sense, her father's heir. See *v.* 253.

253. **ἄμφω φυγὴν ἔχοντε**: because *both* are excluded from their rights. Electra has remained at home indeed, but in a kind of slavery, and is thus *φυγάς* in the intended sense.

254. **ΗΛ.**: see on *v.* 234.—"Observe the natural primitive superstition of an appeal to the *self-interest* of the divine being to serve the pious offspring of a wealthy house. Somewhat comparable, though less grossly material, is the spirit of the cry 'The dead praise not thee, O Lord, neither all they that go down into silence'" (Sidgwick). See *Theb.* 291 foll.

257—259. **οὔτε...οὔτε**. 'As...so'; see *v.* 70.

258. **εὐπιθῆ**: *convincing*, because the eagle was the sign of Zeus in augury and the most important of omens. Wecklein refers to Hom. *Il.* 8. 247, 12. 201, 13. 822, 24. 292 etc.

259. Conington observes that 'the family tree, if allowed to wither, will no longer supply boughs for the altars on days of sacrifice'; but it seems doubtful whether the metaphor is not limited to *αὐανθεὶς*, the rest referring to the family literally.—**ἀρχικός**: *official* rather than *sovereign*. The cult is conceived as inherent in the family, and therefore necessarily expiring with it; indeed according to the most primitive conception the god would perish too (hence *ἀρήξει*). Aeschylus has probably in mind the great sacrificial families of Athens, such as the *Eumolpidae* and *Bouzygae* (note *βουθύτοις*).

261. "*κομίζω*, in its original Epic use, 'tend, take care of'; *κόμισσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια Od.* 18. 322, *ἐνδυκέως ἐκόμιζε ib.* 17. 113" (Sidgwick).—**δ' ἂν ἄρειας** Turnebus (from schol. *δύνασαι γὰρ ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τὸν πεσόντα δόμον*)—**μέγαν** predicate, with *ἄρειας*.

ΧΟ. ὦ παῖδες, ὦ σωτῆρες ἑστίας πατρός,
σιγᾶθ', ὅπως μὴ πεύσεταί τις, ὦ τέκνα,
γλώσσης χάριν δὲ πάντ' ἀπαγγείλῃ τάδε
πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας· οὓς ἴδοιμ' ἐγώ ποτε
θανόντας ἐν κηκῖδι πισσήρει φλογός.
ΟΡ. οὗτοι προδώσει Λοξίου μεγασθενὴς
χρησμὸς κελεύων τόνδε κίνδυνον περᾶν,
κἀξορθριάζων πολλά, καὶ δυσχειμέρους

268. οὔτι. 270. κἀξοθριάζων.

264. **πεύσεται...ἀπαγγείλῃ.** Conington (after Klausen) distinguishes 'you *will* be heard' from 'you *may* be reported', but the references (*e.g.* Plat. *Gorg.* pp. 480, 481) indicate rather that the tenses are mere variations of the final sentence without any perceptible difference.—**ὦ τέκνα**: she speaks not only as a monitor, but according to her age (see *v.* 170).—These words indicate strongly (confirming the impression of the whole scene) that, however the stage may have been arranged, the grave is not to be imagined as really close to the palace.

265. **γλώσσης χάριν**: 'for the pleasure of talking', *μὴ δυνάμενος ἐχεμυθεῖν* schol. This is put in, because the whole play forbids us to suppose that the tyrants had now any active partizans among the people of the country. Nevertheless if the arrival of Orestes were known, some careless and gossiping person might let it out.

267. *κηκὶς πισσήρης* would apply naturally to the resin of pyre-wood. But, placed as it is here, it inevitably suggests the like appearance in the burning body. Such a hideous expression is proper to the savage sentiment. The presence and complicity of these poor, half-brutal slaves is material to the tone of the scene. It brings out by contrast the solemn feelings of Orestes, acting under the pressure of duty.—**θανόντας**: *dead.* They would be *θανόντες*, properly speaking, when the pyre and corpse had burnt out together (see *inf. vv.* 322—326). The reading *φθίνοντας*, suggested by Dr Wecklein, would more vividly mark the satisfaction of watching the process. But the word describing the result does not seem inappropriate.

268. Orestes replies to their fears. His plan has divine sanction, and will not be thwarted. **οὗτοι** Turnebus.

270. **ἐξορθριάζων.** *ἐξορθιάζων* Turn. from the schol. *ἀνατεταμένως βοῶν*, on which however little reliance can be placed, since the writer may well have confused *ὄρθριος* and *ὄρθιος*, or simply guessed. However this may be, I believe **ἐξορθριάζων** to be right and highly significant. The word *ὀρθριάζω* occurs at *Ag.* 29 *Ἀγαμέμνονος γυναικὶ σημαίνω ...εὐνῆς ἐπαντείλασαν...ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι ἐπορθριάζειν*, where (see note) it has been wrongly changed to *ὀρθιάζειν*. It signifies 'to utter as a morning-cry', at the time of awaking and arising, a specially ominous and significant hour. Now we have already seen that the command of Apollo to Orestes was probably not given in the common way, in answer to consultation, but by a dream or dreams, sent either to him or to the Pythia, or perhaps to both (see on *vv.* 31—36). This is what is meant by **ἐξορθριάζων πολλά**. The stress of the injunction was shown by its being given repeatedly (**πολλά**) and always at the *hour of truth*, the time of waking. The word was probably technical in this

ἄτας ὑφ' ἧπαρ θερμὸν ἐξαυδώμενος,
εἰ μὴ μέτειμι τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους,
τρόπον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνταποκτεῖναι λέγων,
ἀποχρημάτοισι ζημίαις ταυρούμενον·

mantic sense. Whether ὀρθιάζειν would be an appropriate word, it is, in the rarity of the examples, not easy to say; but it does not appear at all events to be specially appropriate.—**δυσχειμέρους... θερμόν**: 'plagues to make the warm heart cold as winter' with horror. **ὑφ' ἧπαρ** is to be construed with δυσχειμέρους rather than ἄτας, 'wintry-cold when laid to' the heart.—In **ἐξαυδώμενος** the preposition has here its usual sense 'speak *out*, plainly'. The choice of the verb and of the deponent form is, I think, intentional and significant. In strictness the oracular deity of Delphi *voiced*, not *spoke*, what he revealed, *causing it to be uttered* by his instrument. It is possible that a loose application of this idea is to be found in ηὐδᾶτο (Soph. *Ai.* 772), which *may* refer to the speech of an unseen voice. See on *v.* 151.

272. **εἰ μή**: this conditional sentence is attached loosely to the notion of 'threatening punishment' implied rather than expressed in ἄτας ἐξαυδώμενος.—**μέτειμι...αἰτίους**: literally 'if I did not prosecute for my father those guilty (of the deed)' where 'my father' stands for the 'death of my father' (gen. of the crime) by a compression of phrase somewhat similar to λέγειν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν for τὰ ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει γενόμενα *Ag.* 1199.

274: *refusing the payment of all their wealth*, 'scowling upon compensations which would beggar them'. **ταυρούμενον** lit. 'becoming as a bull to'. This word, and the cognate ἀποταυροῦσθαι, ταυρηδόν, seem to have been in practice closely associated with one characteristic of the animal, the side-long angry look, and hardly to have been used, at least metaphorically, in any other connexion. So in Eur. *Med.* 92 ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον δμῶα νιν ταυρουμένην τοῖσδε (scowling upon the children), *ib.* 187 τοκάδος δέργμα λεαίνης ἀποταυροῦται δμωσίν (where λεαίνης curiously shows how completely the primitive sense of ταυροῦσθαι was lost in the fixed metaphor), and L. and Sc. *s. vv.* The only exception cited there is Eur. *Bacch.* 922 τεταύρωσαι, used of the horned Dionysus, not metaphorically but literally. It is not therefore surprising that Aeschylus, with his habit of bold compression, should use the word, as here, without δμμα, δέργμα, or the like, trusting to the habitual interpretation. The construction of ζημίαις (a dative between the instrumental and that 'of reference') is illustrated by the passages of the *Medea*.—**ζημίαις**: properly 'penalties *paid in value*', fines, as is shown by the use of ζημία in the sense of 'loss'.—**ἀποχρημάτοισι** 'wealth-depriving' in the full and literal sense. As ἀπόπολις, ἀποφύλιος etc. mean 'city-less, tribe-less', totally deprived of city or tribe, so a person beggared would be ἀποχρήματος 'wealthless'; here the epithet is transferred, with active sense, to the fine which beggars.—In a certain stage of society the rule 'a life for a life' might well be preached as an improving doctrine, when compared with the callous savagery of universal 'were-gild'; and this passage suggests that it was at one time zealously supported by the civilizing authority of Delphi.—The current interpretation 'exasperated by my losses' is, I venture to think, certainly wrong. No authority is cited for ταυροῦσθαι in this sense; and it seems strangely below the office of a god to stimulate unscrupulous cupidity. If Orestes had killed his mother *because she had robbed him*, he would surely have been a villain by the consent of all

αὐτὸν δ' ἔφασκε τῇ φίλῃ ψυχῇ τάδε
τίσειν μ', ἔχοντα πολλὰ δυστερπῆ κακά.
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς δυσφρονῶν μειλίγματα
βροτοῖς πιφαύσκων εἶπε τάσδ' ἐννῆν νόσους,
σαρκῶν ἐπαμβατῆρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
λειχῆνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν·

278. τὰς δὲ νῶν.

ages.—It is possible to interpret ἀποχρημάτοισι by 'paid from' *i.e.* in 'money': but I prefer the explanation given above.

275. τάδε: the penalties threatened (*v.* 272).

277—295. This passage describes in general terms (Conington), and not in reference to Orestes in particular, the penalties which attend the avenger of blood, if he neglects his duty. They are the same as those inflicted upon the murderer; bodily corruption, by the corrupted fruits of the earth (*vv.* 277—281), haunting and pursuing fiends (*vv.* 282—289), and banishment from social intercourse for life (*vv.* 290—295).

277—281. *For the (gift), with which earth appeases men's cares, doth, as he declared for their instruction, breed in them certain threading corruptions, things which climb over the flesh, with cruel cancerous jaws eating away its natural state; and by this corruption a whiteness breaks forth upon the temples.* For this doctrine, and the primitive grounds of it, see on *vv.* 64 foll.—τὰ...βροτοῖς: man's food, the fruits of the earth (γᾶς δόσις *Theb.* 348). The description is similar to that in *Psalm* 104. 15 'That he may bring food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make him a cheerful countenance, and bread to strengthen man's heart', only that a more grave and sombre colour is given to it, in harmony with the occasion, by regarding the notion of *cheer* from the negative side. The corresponding positive is εὐφροσύνη (εὐφρόνη) *good cheer, good living.*—δυσφρονῶν. δυσφρόνων M, which might perhaps bear the meaning required; but, upon the view here suggested, we shall clearly prefer the other accentuation.—βροτοῖς depends, like ἐκ γῆς, upon the verbal notion (ὄντα) implied in the description.—ἐννῆν: lit. *spin in them* like a thread. For the form of the contraction see Appendix I. § 8. The context requires a word meaning *make, produce* (βλαστάνειν Conington). But we can ill spare τάσδε, which adds impressiveness by anticipation to the details which follow, and the metaphor of *spinning*, which (as I suggest) the MS. offers, seems admirably to express the peculiarity of cancerous diseases, which reach out in filaments from the tainted centres and cover the surface as with a web. The following expressions (ἐπαμβατῆρας, γνάθοις, ἐξέσθοντας) develope the idea, hinting a comparison of the self-producing plague not only to the web, but also to a sort of loathsome, devouring *arachne.*—πιφαύσκων εἶπε: a redundant expression, for solemnity. βροτοῖς belongs to these verbs as well as to the preceding τὰ...μειλίγματα, and is to be supplied again with ἐννῆν. It is in fact related, according to Aeschylean usage, to the whole sentence.—For further consideration of this passage (which depends for its meaning entirely on the doctrine above noticed respecting the 'fruits of the earth', and without this doctrine can neither be explained or emended) see App. I. § 8.

280. λειχῆνας Blomfield.—ἀρχαίαν φύσιν "seems to have been a technical medical term for what we should call the

λευκὰς δὲ κόρσας τῇδ' ἐπαντέλλειν νόσῳ.
ἄλλας τ' ἐφώνει προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων,
ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων αἱμάτων τελουμένας,

281. ἐπαντέλλει. 282. τε φωνεῖ.

normal condition, *τὴν πρὸ τοῦ νοσεῖν κατάστασιν*, Hesych. Abresch remarks that it is not uncommon in Hippocrates and occurs in Aristides Vol. I. p. 637" (Conington).

281: literally 'and that whiteness in the temples follows *as dawn* upon this corruption': *as dawn*, like the *ἀντέλλων ἥλιος*, because when the disease attacked the face it could no longer be concealed:—"A description of the variety of leprosy called *λευκή*, described by Celsus 5. 28, who mentions as one of the characteristics 'in ea albi pili sunt et lanugini similes', adding that it is more inveterate than the other two sorts, *ἀλφός* and *μέλας*—'quem occupavit non facile dimittit'. See also Leviticus 13. 3, etc." (Conington).—It is however not to be supposed that the pathology is precise, or intended to mark accurately one special disease. Suggestions are borrowed from various forms. **ἐπαντέλλειν** Etym. Mag. p. 530. 51.

282—289 form one sentence, of which the outline is this: *ἐφώνει προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων (τὸν) ἐν σκότῳ ὁρῶντα.....διώκεσθαι πόλεως*, 'he said that haunting fiends chase the unsleeping criminal away from his home'. It has the slight irregularity, that when, after the long parenthesis (**τὸ γὰρ...κινεῖ, ταράσσει**) the oblique oration is resumed, a copula (**καὶ** *and*) is inserted, which strictly is not admissible, though the last words of the parenthesis very naturally suggest it. It is possible, but less natural, to remove the irregularity by taking **καὶ** for *even, actually*.—That this is the construction is shown by **ὁρῶντα...ὀφρύν**, which requires *διώκεσθαι* to govern the object-acc. *ὁρῶντα*.—Hermann, in order to make a construction without parenthesis, placed *v.* 284 after *v.* 287; but this violent expedient does not really prevent a break in the thought, and confuses the logical order of ideas: *τὸ γὰρ κτλ.* is an explanation of *ὁρῶντα λαμπρόν*, and therefore should follow not precede it.

282. **ἄλλας**: *also, besides*.—**τ' ἐφώνει** Auratus, *τε φωνεῖ* M.—**προσβολάς**: literally *approaches*, but practically equivalent to our *apparitions*. The words *προσβάλλειν, προσβολή* signified properly the 'access' of an object to an organ of sense, and *vice versa*, and became technical in this signification, *e.g.* Plat. *Rep.* 401 C *ὁπόθεν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἢ πρὸς ὄψιν ἢ πρὸς ἀκοήν τι προσβάλῃ*, id. *Theaet.* 153 E *καὶ ἡμῖν οὕτω μέλαν τε καὶ λευκὸν καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἄλλο χρῶμα ἐκ τῆς προσβολῆς τῶν ὀμμάτων πρὸς τὴν προσήκουσαν φορὰν φανεῖται γεγενημένον, καὶ ὃ δὴ ἕκαστόν φαμεν χρῶμα οὔτε τὸ προσβάλλον οὔτε τὸ προσβαλλόμενον ἔσται, ἀλλὰ κτλ.*, Arist. *Pax* 180 *πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλε*; (of smell), *ib.* 39 *δαιμόνων προσβολή* (of the revelation of a supernatural being to the sense), and see L. and Sc. *s. vv.* From Antiphon p. 123. 25 where *προσβολή*, in the different sense of *infliction*, is applied to the pollution (*θεία κηλίς*) of the murderer (cf. *Eum.* 602), we see how the word makes a transition here between the diseases and the apparitions.—The rendering *assault* is too narrow, and has created some difficulty in the next verse.

283: *brought to effect by that kindred blood*. **τῶν** (demonstrative, *Theb.* 293) increases the solemnity of the emphasis. —**πατρῴων**: 'belonging to the fatherhood or family'; the context does not admit a narrower meaning.—**τελουμένας**. From this word, and from *vv.* 285—286, it appears that the apparition to human sense of these beings from the lower

ὁρῶντα λαμπρὸν ἐν σκότῳ νωμῶντ' ὀφρύν—
τὸ γὰρ σκοτεινὸν τῶν ἐνερτέρων βέλος
ἐκ προστροπαίων ἐν γένει πεπτωκότων·
καὶ λύσσα καὶ μάταιος ἐκ νυκτῶν φόβος
κινεῖ, ταράσσει—καὶ διώκεσθαι πόλεως

world was supposed, in this rude and archaic superstition, to proceed directly and physically (like the diseases) from the shedding of the kindred blood upon the ground. Probably the notion was that out of the blood the kindred spirits took to themselves enough corporeal substance and power to be perceptible. We have a similar idea in Hom. *Od.* 11. 95, where the spirit of Tiresias drinks blood in order to recover the faculty of revelation. All the conceptions of this passage are far more ancient than the cult of *the* Erinyes as goddesses; and indeed ἐρινύων (*avenging spirits*) is not here a proper name. The goddesses however retained this appetite for blood (*Eum.* 193, 302 foll. etc.).—On the critical question respecting this verse and *v.* 286, see App. I. § 9.

284. (*the criminal*), *who sees clearly, though he works his eye-brows in darkness.* **ὁρῶντα...νωμῶντα**: for the subdependence of the particip. see *sup.* 71 βαίνοντες... καθαίροντες, *Ag.* 562 στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες.—**λαμπρὸν**: adverbial.—νωμᾶν ὀφρύν 'to work the eyebrow', like the hand, a weapon, or a piece of machinery (*Theb.* 528 Σφίγγα...προσεμηχανημένην γόμφοις ἑνώμα), describes the violent frown and stare of horror.—The subject of the description is supplied by the general sense. —Here the sentence is interrupted, in order to explain more exactly what has been suggested in *v.* 285, how the fact of murder makes possible the apparition of the spirits.

285—286: *for that dark element, by which beings of the lower world can strike, is derived from the slain of the race, who demand revenge.* **τὸ σκοτεινὸν...βέλος**. Here βέλος carries out the metaphor suggested in προσβολή above. The effect of light and visible objects is constantly described by βάλλειν and kindred words; and therefore the power of the ἐνέρτεροι to 'materialize' themselves to perception (in darkness only, and in an imperfect, shadowy manner) is in poetical language their σκοτεινὸν βέλος. With our totally different ideas and vocabulary, we can scarcely do better than paraphrase.—**ἐν γένει** with **προστροπαίων**. Prose would require τῶν ἐν γένει or τῶν ἐγγενῶν.—It is better to stop off these verses as a separate sentence (supplying ἐστί). If τὸ...πεπτωκότων is taken for a subject, with κινεῖ (*v.* 288) for verb, the attachment of ἐκ...πεπτωκότων is loose and unsatisfactory, and two distinct topics are confused together.

287. **μάταιος**: *vain* fear, without any object, the consequence of the terror of the phantoms, but carefully distinguished from it. The epithet follows naturally on the explanation how, and how far, the phantoms are, as we should say, real and material.

288. **καὶ διώκεσθαι πόλεως**: *and* (*that*) *they cause him to be chased out of his city.* διώκεσθαι transitive, but with the full force of the causative middle. The ἐρινύες (who, it must once more be said, were not originally, in this doctrine, the developed goddesses of mythology, but simply the avenging phantoms or spirits, out of which that conception grew) cause the criminal to be hunted out of human society by making him mad as well as diseased. Thus these words make a transition to what follows. In *Od.* 18. 8. ὃς ῥ' ἐλθὼν Ὀδυσῆα διώκετο οἷο δόμοιο (cited by Hermann) διώκεσθαι is causative, as the context shows, and signifies not 'to chase' but 'to get him turned away'.

χαλκηλάτῳ πλάστιγγι λυμανθὲν δέμας.
καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὔτε κρατῆρος μέρος
εἶναι μετασχεῖν, οὐ φιλοσπόνδου λιβός,
βωμῶν τ' ἀπείργειν οὐχ ὁρωμένην πατρὸς
μῆνιν, δέχεσθαι δ' οὔτε συλλύειν τινά,
πάντων δ' ἄτιμον κἄφιλον θνῄσκειν χρόνῳ,
κακῶς ταριχευθέντα παμφθάρτῳ μόρῳ.

290. κρατερὸς.

That διώκεσθαι is transitive here is indicated by the general scheme of the passage; see above.

289. πλάστιγγι. As to the meaning of this word we have no evidence but that of the context. Elsewhere it means a *balance*, or some part of one, the *scale* or sometimes the *tongue*. The context, taken in connexion with known practices about lepers, madmen, and other such outcasts, suggests that here it is some metal object, which was attached in a painful way (λυμανθέν) to the victim, so that he could not easily remove it, and was so made as to give a sound, warning people of his approach. Small metal plates, suspended so as to clash, would have the effect and correspond to the name. The epithet χαλκήλατος (*forged of metal*) proves nothing; but we may note that Aeschylus applies it to bells (χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον *Theb.* 373).—Ancient scholars (Etym. M. p. 674 and Hesych. *s.v.*) assumed for πλάστιγξ here the meaning μάστιξ *scourge;* but Dr Wecklein is justified in supposing that this is a mere guess, and as such, from the general use of the word, extremely improbable. Wecklein himself boldly substitutes μάστιγι. But even if we had the right to do this, *scourge* is not really appropriate. It is clear from the mention of the πλάστιγξ in this close and pregnant description, that it is something special to the matter in hand.—λυμανθὲν δέμας stands in apposition to the object (*him*) of διώκεσθαι and is equivalent to λυμανθέντα δέμας (schol.) but stronger and more contemptuous: cf. καὶ νῦν (Τυφῶν), ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας, κεῖται κτλ. *P. V.* 379.

290—294. For the exclusion of persons polluted by blood-guilt from common meals and from the altar (one of the instruments of the common meal) see *Theb.* 765 foll. (note on p. xxx of the Introduction) and Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 947 foll.—κρατῆρος Robortello.

292. πατρός: the common father of the πάτρα, through whom the criminal and victim were kin; cf. πατρῴων in *v.* 283.

293. οὔτε: for the omission of the first negative see *Ag.* 537 Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλις, Soph. *Phil.* 771 ἑκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα. Shakesp. *Sonn.* 141 'But my five wits *nor* my five senses can dissuade' etc. (Sidgwick).—συλλύειν: συγκαταλύειν (συγκλύειν, corr. by Abresch), συνοικεῖν schol.; *to lodge with*. Even travellers do not 'put up' together with him. "The other interpretations offered, 'to embark with', 'to help in expiating', are forced and inappropriate" (Sidgwick).

295. κακῶς ταριχευθέντα: lit. 'vilely mummied', a metaphor for the wasting of the body and hardening of the skin by the disease. "There is a certain grim effectiveness in using the word, which properly describes drying for *preservation*, as a metaphor for the withering and shrivelling of destruction" (Sidgwick).—παμφθάρτῳ μόρῳ: lit. 'with utterly corrupted corpse', Latin *penitus corrupto funere, i.e.* in the Greek of prose ὥστε πάμφθαρτον τὸν μόρον εἶναι. On μόρος *funus*, for

τοιοῖσδε χρησμοῖς ἆρα χρὴ πεποιθέναι;
κεἰ μὴ πέποιθα, τοὔργον ἔστ' ἐργαστέον.
πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς ἓν συμπίτνουσιν ἵμεροι,
θεοῦ τ' ἐφετμαί, καὶ πατρὸς πένθος μέγα,
καὶ πρὸς πιέζει χρημάτων ἀχηνία,
τὸ μὴ πολίτας εὐκλεεστάτους βροτῶν,
Τροίας ἀναστατῆρας εὐδόξῳ φρενί,
δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ὧδ' ὑπηκόους πέλειν,—
θήλεια γὰρ φρήν· εἰ δὲ μή, τάχ' εἴσεται.

300. προσπιέζει.

which we have no complete equivalent see *inf.* 440 and *Theb.* 407, 576: it means (1) *death*, (2) *corpse*, (3) *funeral*. The dative here is that 'of attendant circumstance' and approaches the use called, in the genitive and Latin ablative, 'absolute'. See δουλίαν ψαφαρᾷ σποδῷ *Theb.* 310, *Ag.* 1298 (and App. Z there). Thus the words carry out the contrast suggested by ταριχευθέντα.

296. 'Such was the oracle, which must be believed, must it not?' This seems to be the full original force of the ἆρα, even where it is 'illative'. See Dindorf, *Lex. Aesch. s.v.* The next verse practically answers the question and therefore (Sidgwick) has no connecting particle.

300. **καὶ πρὸς** (Abresch, for *καὶ προσπιέζει*) *and besides*, see *Prom.* 73 κελεύσω κἀπιθωύξω γε πρός, *ib.* 961 πρὸς δ' ἃ βούλομαι λέγω (Wecklein) and *sup.* 137.—The difference of writing is not important, since with προσπιέζει the interpretation must be the same; but the composition of πρός in the sense *in addition* with such a word as πιέζειν is not very natural, and the other way is decidedly better.—The insertion of πρός serves aptly to mark the transition to a lower class of motives, which in themselves would have been no justification for the deed intended.

301. **τὸ μὴ...πέλειν**: 'that Argos should not be subject to two women', *i.e.* the desire that they should not be subject. For the construction, which is that of *oblique oration*, with inf. for imperative (or optative), see on *Ag.* 15.—That these lines give a separate motive, and are not merely consecutive and explanatory to *v.* 300, was seen by de Pauw (proposing τὸ μὴ πολίτας τ') and is surely proved by the sense. The political deliverance of the country is a different object from self-enrichment, and nobler. From the other, while confessing it, Orestes turns by instinct as quickly as possible. But there is no need for any copula. Orestes has not a fixed catalogue of motives in his mind, but adds them as they occur. When he adds this one, he has not determined that it is the last; but the reference to Aegisthus produces an explosion of hatred and defiance, which brings him to an abrupt but highly effective conclusion.

302. **εὐδόξῳ φρενί**: *with glorious spirit*, a dative of circumstance (see on *v.* 295) belongs both to ἀναστατῆρας and to πέλειν, or (we may say) is to be construed with the first and supplied with the second. In a language accustomed, like Greek, to elliptical compression, the question between the two does not arise.

303. **δυοῖν γυναικοῖν**: Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus; see *Ag.* 1625—26.

304. **τάχ' εἴσεται**: *he shall know soon*, shall have an occasion of proving that his spirit is not effeminate, if it is not; a for-

Commos. ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ὦ μεγάλαι Μοῖραι, Διόθεν 305
Prelude. τῇδε τελευτᾶν,
ᾗ τὸ δίκαιον μεταβαίνει.
"ἀντὶ μὲν ἐχθρᾶς γλώσσης ἐχθρὰ

mula of defiance and warning; cf. *γνώσει τάχα Ag.* 1649, and see Paley's note here.

305—476. "The *Commos* [a lyrical piece performed by actors and chorus together], which awakes the Avenger (see 326 foll.), and developes the treatment of the theme for the encouragement and strengthening of Orestes. It is introduced by a part for the Chorus-Leader in anapaests and concluded by another: the rest is divided into four sections. The first section (314—421) is subdivided, by a passage in anapaests for the Leader, (371—378) into two symmetrical sections; each of these symmetrical sections has for centre an anapaestic passage for the Leader, the two passages corresponding as strophe and antistrophe (339—343 and 399—403): in each symmetrical section there is on both sides of the central anapaests a group of three parts in this order—Orestes, Chorus, Electra; in each group the parts of Orestes and Electra correspond as strophe and antistrophe, and the part for the Chorus in one group corresponds to the part for the Chorus in the other group. Thus the scheme of the first section as a whole is this" (Wecklein):

Or. Cho. El. Lead. Or. Cho. El. Lead. Or. Cho. El. Lead. Or. Cho. El.

—It is noticeable that in the *Persae* also the invocation of the dead, which follows the *χοαί*, though far less elaborate than this, is like it in having a *double-triple* system, *three pairs* of strophae (*Pers.* 636—675). When we further observe that here, at the conclusion of the first double-triplet, the main purpose, the obtaining of help from below, is declared to be 'now effected' (*inf.* 374—378), we can hardly be wrong in concluding that this form was held proper to such incantations. The fact that such a summons would regularly follow the offering of *χοαί*, as we see from the *Persae*, is important, as explaining why the ceremony begins without any formal proposal. It is in fact a resumption and completion of Electra's rite, Orestes now taking his proper place and share.—The assignment of parts to the 'leader' is of course conjectural. There is some reason to think (see on *v.* 379) that the centre-piece at least (*vv.* 371—378) is full-chorus. On the construction of the later sections, which maintain in various forms the double-triple system, see notes hereafter.

305. **ἀλλά**: frequent at the commencement of a prayer (Lat. *at*) as *inf.* 474, 538, 1061, *Pers.* 631, 643 etc. (Wecklein).

306. **τελευτᾶν**: the inf. of precatory formula, the general prefix 'I pray that' being supplied by convention and the tone.

307. **μεταβαίνει**: "*is turning.* At last Justice is coming over to their side. The thought is perfectly natural, though not perhaps logically correct. Paley aptly quotes *Ag.* (770), where Justice is said to leave guilty homes for the pious" (Sidgwick).

308. **γλώσσης...γλῶσσα**: has in the proverb a general meaning, 'word for word, blow for blow'; but here rather, in relation to the present circumstances, signifies *deception*, with reference to *Ag.* 1226 *οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα* κτλ. The 'de-

γλῶσσα τελείσθω"· τοὐφειλόμενον
πράσσουσα Δίκη μέγ' ἀντεῖ· 310
"ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν
πληγὴν τινέτω. δράσαντι παθεῖν,
τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ."
I. 1. *a.* ΟΡ. ὦ πάτερ αἰνόπατερ, τί σοι
φάμενος ἢ τί ῥέξας 315
τύχοιμ' ἂν ἔκαθεν οὐρίσας,

310. μέγαντι (οἶμαι μέγ' ἀϋτεῖ m in marg.).

ceptive tongue' of Clytaemnestra will be repaid by the 'deceptive tongue' of Orestes. For the point of ἐχθρᾶς see *Ag.* 1371—75 πολλῶν πάροιθεν κτλ. The bitterness of Clytaemnestra's denunciation after the death of her victim (to which Conington refers) is also 'repaid' by Orestes (*inf.* 971), but the order of thought shows that it is the previous trick which is here in view. Indeed mere reviling is not important enough to have a special mention.—Note that it is the slaves who press the unqualified severity of this 'ancient' saying.

310. **ἀντεῖ** (corr. of M in margin, *μέγαντι* M) refers to the whole, *ἀντὶ μὲν... τελείσθω, ἀντὶ δὲ...φωνεῖ.*

312. **τινέτω**: *let him pay, i.e.* ὁ φονεύσας.

ib. **δράσαντι παθεῖν** (ὀφείλεται): cf. *frag.* 267 (282) δράσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται. "He is quoting the proverb in the tersest and most epigrammatic form, hence the obscured construction" (Sidgwick; so also Wordsworth, Peile). —**τάδε** the proverb; this shows that the words δράσαντι παθεῖν are quoted, and therefore proves (against Conington, who attaches them to φωνεῖ) that they are a fragment only. Proverbs are constantly so cited. The proverb also took other forms (*e.g. Ag.* 1563 μίμνει παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα) but this is not material.

314. **πάτερ αἰνόπατερ**: *father strange and terrible.* The epithet is modelled on such as αἰνόταρις (Πάρις); Con. also compares πόδα τυφλόπουν Eur. *Phoen.* 1549. It expresses the sense of horror and remoteness which it is natural to feel in addressing the dead.—*αἰνοπαθές*: Hartung and others, from the schol. δεινὰ παθών, which however proves nothing. The interpreter naturally discards -πατερ, as having no separate meaning, and misconstrues αἰνο- in a manner not at all surprising. On the other hand *αἰνόπατερ* is not the sort of word to occur by error and (the decisive consideration) is specially appropriate to the context, whereas *αἰνοπαθές* is irrelevant.

316. **τύχοιμ' ἂν** κτλ.: *can I succeed in wafting it* (the word or act which expresses my feelings) *from this distance to the* (*shore*) *where* etc.—**ἔνθα...εἶναι**: *where thou art anchored fast.* Surely εἶναι here means *anchors*, and not, as commonly thought, *bed.* The comparison of the interval between the living and the dead to a 'great water' is familiar to all poetry, ancient poetry in particular. See *Theb.* 839 foll. ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὖρον ἐρέσσετε...μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον, a passage which illustrates this in the general conception and also in the details. The dead is said to be 'anchored fast,' to signify the impossibility or difficulty of return. If εἶναι be rendered *bed*, οὐρίσας is pointless and incongruous, since a sleeper is not to be reached by means of a breeze.—**ἔχουσιν**: *hold, detain.*

ἔνθα σ' ἔχουσιν εὐναί;
σκότῳ φάος ἀντίμοιρον·
χάριτες δ' ὁμοίως
κέκληνται, γόος εὐκλεὴς 320

318. *ἰσοτίμοιρον.* 320. *κέκληνται.*

318—320. *Darkness is contrary to light, a separate region; and the offices of love (between them) are barred in like manner.* *ἐναντίον μὲν τὸ φῶς τὸ σκότῳ, τοῦτεστι, πολὺ τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ζώντων καὶ τεθνεώτων* schol., an excellent note. **ἀντίμοιρον** Erfurdt for *ἰσοτίμοιρον*: *ἰσο-* is the regular equivalent in late Greek for *ἀντι-* in such compounds; here the gloss has been curiously inserted into the word. Both *ἀντι-* and *-μοιρος* (*μέρος, μερίζω*) have their full and separate force. See *ἀντίδουλος App.* I. § 6.—**ὁμοίως**: as the worlds are divided, so are their inhabitants, so that the intercourse of affection is impossible.—**κέκληνται**: 'are shut, locked off', from *κλήω*, Bamberger; a necessary correction. The MS. *κέκληται* (*καλέω*) has lead to various forced interpretations and arrangements: *e.g.* it suggested the joining of *σκότῳ...ἀντίμοιρον*, as object of *ὥρισας*, with the preceding sentence, to the destruction of the metaphor and sense.—**χάριτες**: *χάριτας δὲ νεκρῶν πάντες φασὶ τὸν γόον* schol. Wecklein cites Eur. *Hel.* 176 *χάριτας ὑ' ἐπὶ δάκρυσι παρ' ἐμέθεν ὑπὸ μέλαθρα νύχια παιᾶνας νέκυσι μελομένους λάβῃ*. However the word is here appropriate and clear, without supposing any fixed use of it for *lament of the dead*, which is perhaps a figment.

320. **γόος...Ἀτρείδαις**: *that lamentation, which has done honour to them of our house from old time.* These words are antithetic to the preceding; there is a contrast between the Atridae in general and Agamemnon in particular. The obscurity of the passage has arisen partly because this antithesis has been missed, and partly from the difficulty that we have in realizing the primitive notions, about death and the dead, which are here implied. Orestes is thinking of his father's neglected funeral, when he ought to have been honoured, like his predecessors, with the customary lament. *Then* (such is the conception) the dead father, being present and not yet wholly departed, could have heard and been consoled by his son's voice; *now* he is gone far away, perhaps altogether beyond reach.—**εὐκλεὴς** (*οὖσα*) takes from **προσθο-** the same time-sense, which it would have with **πάλαι**. *Observe carefully that the antithesis intended is implied to the ear by the opposition of κέκληνται...εὐκλεής.* It would not be true to say that *εὐκλεής* here means 'easily-unlocked', 'open' (as if from *κλεῖς key*); probably the form could not really bear this meaning: but it is unquestionable, I think, that Aeschylus meant to suggest it, and that in fact *εὐκλεής* is one of those *equivocations*, which are so marked a feature of his style. See Indices to *Septem* and *Agamemnon* s.v. *Verbal Equivocation.*—**προσθοδόμους**. The parts of the compound have separate effect.—**Ἀτρείδαις**: the family in general, not Agamemnon and Menelaus, the sons of one individual Atreus.—Conington (reading *κέκληνται*) represents *vv.* 319—321 by 'Be my words unavailing to comfort thee or no, a splendid dirge is still reputed an act of grace to the old lords of the palace, the Atridae'. But this (1) disturbs the connexion of this speech with the reply to it, (2) makes *εὐκλεὴς...Ἀτρείδαις* superfluous, and (3) requires (what I think impossible) the punctuation of *vv.* 314—318 as one sentence.

προσθοδόμοις Ἀτρείδαις.

I. 1. *b.* ΧΟ. *τέκνον, φρόνημα τοῦ*
θανόντος οὐ δαμάζει
πυρὸς (ἦ μαλερὰ) γνάθος,
φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς· 325
ὀτοτύζεται δ' ὁ θνήσκων,
ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων·
πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων

324. ἦ.

324. **ἦ**: ἡ M, omitted by Porson on metrical grounds, but see Appendix II. It is hard to see why it should have been inserted, and I believe that the letters stand for the text as given, *the jaws of fire, fierce though they are*, literally 'the jaws (fierce indeed they are!) of fire'. See on *Ag.* 525.

325. **φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς**: *but it* (the *φρόνημα τοῦ θανόντος*) *expresses its yearnings, (only) after a while.*—**φαίνει**: *shows, makes demonstration of.*—**ὕστερον**: in contrast to the *φρόνημα τοῦ ζῶντος*, which responds instantly by outward sign to us, when we communicate with it.—**ὀργάς**: not *anger*, but *impulses, movements, desires*. This is the primitive sense of the word, and is in poetry common; the plural in particular is usually neutral in sense. See on Eur. *Med.* 121.

326—327: literally 'And as he that is dying is lamented, so he that is delaying is brought to light'; *i.e.* a dirge (*γόος*) takes effect on the dead not only (according to the thought of Orestes) to console him at his funeral, but also to bring him back long after his death. **ὁ θνήσκων**. Observe the tense, and contrast **τοῦ θανόντος**: the difference is, in every sense of the word, vital, and contains the point of the whole passage. According to this primitive doctrine 'death' is not regarded as complete before the destruction of the body; the severed corpse and soul, at a *γόος* or *lykewake*, make up a *θνήσκων* not a *θανών*: see on *v.* 320.—**ὁ βλάπτων**. The context, and especially the words *φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς*, shows that *βλάπτειν* here means *delay, hinder* (see *Ag.* 123). The dead is a 'delayer' or 'hinderer' because (to put the matter quite simply and prosaically) he keeps waiting those who desire to communicate with him. The expression is (to us) obscure, but no doubt was explained by conventional and religious use. The doctrine is this. The soul is not destroyed with the body, but goes out of it. In the case of one just 'dead' (in the modern sense), whose body is with us, the soul, scarcely parted, is not far off, and we reach it, with some difficulty, by the *lament* or *dirge* (in which frequent repetition was used; see and contrast Ar. *Frogs*, 1175). The soul of a man long since burnt on the pyre has of course gone far away into the world of darkness, and we cannot expect that it will respond to us *quickly*. But it exists, and it will respond to us in some way, if we call with perseverance; and (adds the speaker) the most mighty of calls is the voice of a child lamenting a parent, which will range the universe till it finds him.—See further Appendix I. § 10.

328—330. 'And more especially in the case of a father and parent is the lamentation of him a true seeker, whose wide (pursuit) embraces the universe'. **τε** couples the whole clause to the preceding, and signifies that the relation of

γόος ἔνδικος ματεύει,
τὸ πᾶν ἀμφιλαφὴς ταραχθείς. 330
I. 1. *a.* ΗΛ. κλῦθί νυν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐν μέρει
πολυδάκρυτα πένθη.
δίπαις τοί σ' ἐπιτυμβίδιος
θρῆνος ἀναστενάξει.
τάφος δ' ἱκέτας δέδεκται 335

333. τοῖσ ἐπιτυμβιδίοισ.

Orestes to the soul he seeks is an assurance added to the general doctrine above laid down.—The first words of the sentence have the emphasis, represented in the translation by 'more especially'.—**καὶ τεκόντων**: 'and a parent *in particular*', see on *Ag.* 5. The addition is important, since in this scene and context, **πατέρων** *fathers* might naturally have its wider sense; see on **πατρῴων, πατρός** (*vv.* 283, 292).—**ἔνδικος ματεύει**: the object (**αὐτούς**) is supplied from **πατέρων** as usual. **ἔνδικος** (*right and true*) is part of the predicate and in effect adverbial. It combines here both its senses, and implies not only that the lament is in this case a 'right seeker', *i.e.* a seeker who will go right (*Ag.* 985), but also that the child has a just and natural claim to communicate with the parent (see on *Theb.* 594).—**ταραχθείς**: *thrown about, thrown wide*, precisely as in Pindar, *Pyth.* XI. 65 **Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἰ μισθῷ συνετὶ θεν παρέχειν φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλᾳ ταρασσόμεν (αὐτὴν), ἢ πατρὶ Πυθονίκῳ τό γέ νιν ἢ Θρασυδαίῳ**: the poet, having let out his voice for hire, must be careful, in 'throwing' or 'scattering' it, to cover the themes prescribed. Similar, so far as that the word imports wide extent, is Eur. *Bacch.* 796 **φόνον θήλυν... πολὺν ταράξας ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς**. The three passages together suggest, I think, that it was used in connexion with *hunting*.—**τὸ πᾶν ἀμφιλαφής**. The word **ἀμφιλαφής** *extensive, wide-embracing* is here so applied as to utilize the suggestion in **ἀμφι-**, 'embracing *both sides*'. The pursuit of the **γόος** takes in *both worlds*, both parts of the universe (see *v.* 318).—It is impossible and unnecessary to decide, whether **τὸ πᾶν** is adverbial, or whether it is substantival and the object of **ἀμφιλαφής** (see on **χοὰς προπομπός**, *v.* 23). The rules of poetic syntax are such as to leave this point in harmless ambiguity.—As to the scholia see Appendix I. § 10. There is no ground for suspicion of the text.

331. **νυν**: 'hear *then*', since thou canst hear.—**ἐν μέρει** of voices in succession taking up one burden, as in *Ag.* 1191 **ὑμνοῦσιν ὕμνον'...πρώταρχος ἄτην ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν** κτλ. The expression was probably technical, and fits here naturally, at the beginning of the first responsion or *antistrophe*.—Here the **γόος** actually commences; what precedes is prefatory.

333. **τοί σ' ἐπιτυμβίδιος** Schütz for **τοῖσ ἐπιτυμβιδίοισ**.—**δίπαις**: if the **γόος** of a child is powerful (see above), more so should be that of two, repeating their sorrows (**πολυδάκρυτα**).

334. **ἀναστενάξει**: *shall sadly call thee back*. See on **ἀναστένων**, *Ag.* 551.—If M has the future (it seems to be doubtful, but Wecklein gives the reading with ξ not ζ) it ought to be retained, being in sense preferable to the present. Electra *will add* her voice to her brother's.

335. *But the grave has received the exile, as the suppliant, indifferently: i.e.* no sign has answered either the prayers of Electra (*vv.* 123 ff.), or the coming of Orestes. Agamemnon has not risen

φυγάδας θ' ὁμοίως.
τί τῶνδ' εὖ, τί δ' ἄτερ κακῶν;
οὐκ ἀτρίακτος ἄτα;
I. 1. *centre.* ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἂν ἐκ τῶνδε θεὸς χρῄζων
θείη κελάδους εὐφθογγοτέρους· 340
ἀντὶ δὲ θρήνων ἐπιτυμβιδίων
παιὼν μελάθροις ἐν βασιλείοις
νεοκρᾶτα φίλοισι κομίζοι.

340. θῄη. 343. φίλων κομίζει.

(as Darius rises in the *Persae*), nor has any assurance been conveyed that the prayer is heard. Is there then really any hope?—I prefer this interpretation to that of Conington 'The suppliant and the exile have alike found shelter at thy grave', because *vv.* 337—338 show that the tone of what precedes is that of discouragement and despair.—**ἱκέτας...φυγάδας**: the plural only marks that the character, not the person, is in view.—*ἱκέτην μὲν ἐμέ, φυγάδα δὲ Ὀρέστην* schol.

337. **τί τῶνδε;** *What in this world?* (rather than *What in these events?*) as is shown by **ἄτερ κακῶν**. See on *v.* 104.

338. **ἀτρίακτος.** See *Ag.* 181, and note that, in its literal sense 'unconquered *by three*', the word completes the suggestion of **δι-ταις** and introduces a reference to the part of the chorus in the elaborate *triple* construction of this *κομμός*. Electra's part finishes the first triplet (see on *v.* 305). If the reader thinks such a combination of sublimity and artificiality not likely to occur, let him study the *stasimon inf.* 583 foll., and compare the *Oraison Funèbre* of Mascaron over the heart of the Grand Condé, a composition thoroughly kindred in spirit to archaic Greek art. To see how such methods are improved in subtler hands, let him go on to the *Oraison* of Bourdaloue for Turenne, a careful and very noble remodelling of Mascaron's work. Our own literature has nothing of the sort so important.

339. **ἔτι ἐκ τῶνδε**: *even after this, under these conditions*, cf. *Pers.* 790, Soph. *Ai.* 537, Eur. *Med.* 459, *Hipp.* 705 (Wecklein).

340. **θείη** Turnebus.

342. **παιὼν** (*παίων* M). Blomfield (and others) write everywhere **παιάν**, as I have done in *Ag.* 258. Conington however and Paley retain **παιών**, and Paley argues, perhaps rightly, that the adj. **παιώνιος** (*Pers.* 608) points to the admission of the other form, so that it is scarcely safe to change it.

343: *will restore the re-united one to his friends (and kin)*. The emendation (Hartung) is proved by the scholia: see below. **νεοκρᾶτα**: lit. *new-mixed*. This most interesting word seems to have represented originally, and perhaps even in the knowledge and belief of Aeschylus, no metaphor but the literal fact. The *paean* (see *Ag.* 258) accompanied the libation with which the bowl was consecrated at a feast. The act of drinking from the same bowl, on solemn and sacramental occasions, was supposed actually to renew and re-invigorate the community of life between the members of a brotherhood. As a sign of this, drops of the blood of the animal sacrificed (itself a representative of the kindred) were put into the bowl (see the imaginary ritual of the Kings of Atlantis, Plato *Critias*, p. 119, modelled, as we must naturally suppose, upon known practices; and compare *Ag.* 464): nor can there be,

l. 1. *c.* ΟΡ. εἰ γὰρ ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ
πρός τινος Λυκίων, πάτερ,
δορίτμητος κατηναρίσθης,
λιπὼν ἂν εὔκλειαν ἐν δόμοισιν

346. κατεναρίσθησ.

I think, any reasonable doubt that among the Greeks, as among the Semites and others, the blood of the persons to be united was used in the same manner (see on *Theb.* 923 and references there); indeed the expression νεοκρὰς (φίλος), used as it is here, is itself strong evidence for the belief. Naturally the return of one long separated from his family would be the occasion for a sacrament of this kind. By means of the bowl the partakers were literally 'new-mixed' with one another, and the bond renewed between them.—φίλοισι belongs both to νεοκρᾶτα and to κομίζοι, which signifies *bring back, recover* (*Ag.* 795): the present tense is used because the sacramental ceremony is a process, not a momentary act: with the opt. we supply ἄν from the preceding clause.—The scholia here run thus: Ὀρέστην τὸν νεωστὶ συγκραθέντα ἡμῖν. οἱ δὲ νεοκρᾶτα τὴν ἐπὶ νεκρῷ (!) σπονδήν.—νεωστὶ κεκραμένον, λείπει κρατῆρα.—νεοκρᾶτα: κρατῆρα. "νεοκρήτου τ' εἰσεπιλειβομένας". The first note, or rather the first half of it, which must be very ancient indeed, is absolutely correct and complete, and it represents by ἡμῖν the dative φίλοισι. The other two are wrong, but valuable as proving that, even after the text had ceased to be understood, it still did not contain the word φίλον. If it had, the artificial device of "supplying κρατῆρα" would not have been thought of. The corruption of ICI to N might well be accidental; but more probably φίλον was added deliberately as a (correct) grammatical supplement to νεοκρᾶτα, and then drove out φίλοισι or φίλοισ. Hartung's emendation has not attracted much notice; but in fact the true bearing and value of it could not be seen, until recent anthropological researches in other fields had prepared the way for explaining these relics of savage Hellas. To expound this passage fully would be to copy a considerable part of Prof. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*.

344. εἰ γὰρ.....κατηναρίσθης: *Ah, would that thou hadst been slain!* The sentence is optative, not conditional. In the MS. it has been converted into a conditional sentence by the insertion of an apodosis (see on *v.* 350); but that this is an error, and the optative sense right, is strongly indicated, I think, by the reply of Electra (*v.* 362), which is in form *a correction of a wish*, and would be much less natural and intelligible, especially with its unusual construction, if the speech of Orestes were not formally optative. For the thought see Hom. *Od.* 1. 236, οὔ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ' ἀκαχοίμην, εἰ μετὰ οἷς ἑτάροισι δάμη Τρώων ἐνὶ δήμῳ, *ib.* 2. 408, Soph. *El.* 94, Eur. *Androm.* 1182 (Paley, Wecklein).

346. δορίτμητος: from the Homeric τέμνειν *wound*, *Il.* 13. 501, 16. 761 (Sidgwick).—κατηναρίσθης: Porson.

347—349. *So hadst thou left thy surviving children glorious at home and admired abroad*: literally 'leaving in that case glory (of thy children) at home and in their goings abroad their life admired'. If τ' ἐν for τε (Wellauer) is right, as it appears to be, the parallelism of ἐν δόμοισιν...ἐν κελεύθοις requires that αἰῶ as well as εὔκλειαν should depend upon λιπών, and indeed the construction of the whole paragraph demands this: see following notes. The phrase εὔκλειαν

τέκνων τ' ἐν κελεύθοις
ἐπιστρεπτὸν αἰῶ,
κτίσσας πολύχωστον [ἂν εἶχες]
τάφον διαποντίου [ᾶς
δώμασιν ἐμφόρητον.

348. τε. 349. αἰῶνα. 351. διαποντιουτας. 352. εὐφόρητον.

ἐν δόμοισιν, which without τέκνων has scarcely a perfect sense, is to be completed from the antithesis, as usual.—λίπων ἄν: the addition of ἄν to the participle indicates that it expresses a result conditioned by the fulfilment of the preceding wish.—τέκνων, as the order indicates, belongs to κελεύθοις as well as to αἰῶ. As applied to τέκνων, κελεύθοις means (as ὁδός often) *going in the ways*; cf. ὕπνου κελεύθοις *the going of sleep*, *Ag.* 434.—ἐπιστρεπτὸν: 'that which is turned towards', *i.e.* which men turn to look at: ὡς τοὺς ὑπαντῶντας ἐπιστρέφεσθαι πρὸς θέαν ἡμῶν schol.—αἰῶ H. L. Ahrens; αἰῶ τὸν αἰῶνα κατ' ἀποκοπὴν Αἰσχύλος εἶπεν Bekker, *Anecdota* 1. 263; it is in reality the acc. of another form αἰώς.

350—352. The exact reading can hardly perhaps be determined. But it is certain that either something has been inserted here, or something lost in the antistrophe (*vv.* 368—370); and as I see no trace of injury there, I incline to suppose insertion here. For (this point, I think, has not been considered) the reading here *has certainly been altered*: the schol. on *v.* 353, πρὸς τὸ "πολύχωστον εἶχες τάφον" ἀπέδωκεν ὁ χορός, betrays that ἄν was not in the text, when it was written. My own belief is that εἶχες (or ἂν εἶχες) is the spurious supplement, which seemed to be wanted, when κτίσσας had been transferred to the previous sentence and to the end of *v.* 349, where (a significant fact) it stands in M. In short the whole error arose from missing the connexion of λιπὼν...αἰῶ.—*Having made for thy tomb a mighty mound in the foreign land, filled full with the buildings thereof.* If Agamemnon had fallen in the career of conquest, his 'Trojan tomb' would have been the huge heap in which lay engulfed the ruins of the destroyed city, the mound in fact, as we might say, of Hissarlik. It seems indeed not improbable that there had come down to Aeschylus through older poetry some vague and floating notion about this mound and its composition, now universally made known by the excavations of Schliemann.—The use of δῶμα in its primitive and proper sense (οἰκοδόμημα *building*) is natural for a poet and seems to require no special justification.—ἐνφόρητον or ἐμφόρητον. This reading is clearly presumed, as I think, by the schol. (to *v.* 351) ἐν τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι τῆς Τροίας. The writer of this (1) took δώμασι to be the buildings of Troy, and (2) had a text suggesting the preposition ἐν. No commentator, the duller the less likely, could get anything of the sort from the text of M. For the meaning of ἐμφόρητος see L. and Sc. *s.v.* ἐμφορέω. The word is specially appropriate here, from the natural application of φορεῖν (γῆν) to mounding and like operations (*e.g.* ἐξεφόρεον in Herod. 7. 22).—εὐφόρητον is probably no accidental error, but a 'correction', perhaps by the author of the strange note τάφον εὐτυχῆ· φορὰ γὰρ ἡ τύχη. It is commonly rendered thus: 'a burden easy for the house (of Agamemnon) to bear', and referred either to the supposed *death* of the king in Troy, or to the supposed *tomb* there. The first alone gives a tolerable sense, and to get it we must take εὐφόρητον, though the critics do not expressly say so, not as masc.

I. 1. *b.* ΧΟ. *φίλος φίλοισι τοῖς*
ἐκεῖ καλῶς θανοῦσιν,
κατὰ χθονὸς ἐμπρέπων
σεμνότιμος ἀνάκτωρ,
πρόπολός τε τῶν μεγίστων
χθονίων ἐκεῖ τυράννων·
βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἦν, ὄφρ' ἔζη,

(agreeing with *τάφον*) but as neuter (acc. in app. to the sentence, see *Ag.* 654). It is however difficult to believe that *πολύχωστον* and *εὐφόρητον* are disconnected and have different constructions, and we are thus driven to the explanation of Conington (and Paley) "*δώμασιν εὐφόρητον* is meant to contrast with *πολύχωστον*, 'huge as the tomb might have been, the house could well have borne its weight'". It cannot perhaps be said that this idea, though surely very different from the natural antithesis of *Ag.* 449, is inconceivable; but we may be glad to see Aeschylus relieved of it. And we may also feel that *δώμασιν*, placed as it is, cannot naturally refer to any *δώματα* but those of Troy.—**κτίσσας.** We need not change this 'epic' form; on the metre see Appendix II.—**διαποντίου γᾶς** Turnebus.

353. The chorus continue Orestes' speech, "dilating on the regal honours which would have attended Agamemnon even after death" (Conington), whereas now his honour in the other world is impaired by the insults of his death and burial.—M merely marks that there is a new part: the schol. (see preceding note) rightly assign it to the chorus.

358. **τυράννων**: the divine rulers of the lower world (*ἐκεῖ*), to whom as gods the word *τύραννος* (like *δεσπότης* Eur. *Hipp.* 88) might be applied without impropriety. Πλουτῶνος καὶ Περσεφόνης schol.—Note that *χθονίων τυράννων* is in apposition to *τῶν μεγίστων*, *servant to the highest, the emperors of that under-world.*

359. **ἦν...ἔζης** M: **ἦσθα...ἔζης** Abresch: **ἦν...ἔζη** Hermann. The construction of the whole speech, as a continuation of the foregoing, suggests the 2nd person, but the change to the 3rd is not unnatural, and perhaps technically better warranted. Both are probably ancient readings.—"It appears from Strabo 15. 3 (3 p. 322), pointed out by Paley, that the funeral inscription of Darius was supposed to be *φίλος ἦν φίλοισι*, that of Cyrus, *ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι, Κῦρος βασιλεὺς βασιλήων.* Recent discoveries have shown the story to be untrue, but we may safely assume it to have been believed in Greece, and its coincidence with the two parts of this passage, here and [*v.* 353] above, is too remarkable to be dismissed as accidental, in the case of a writer like Aeschylus who refers repeatedly to Persian customs. (For the epitaph on Darius comp. *Pers.* [650] *ἦ φίλος ἀνὴρ, φίλος ὄχθος· φίλα γὰρ κέκευθεν ἤθη,* [677] *ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών.*) Thus we must connect *πιπλάντων* with *βασιλεύς*, after Butler and others, the general sense being 'for thou wast a king of kings'. This is not precisely the Homeric conception of Agamemnon's position (comp. however *Il.* 2. 183—197); but it is the form which the conception took in later writers (*e.g.* Sen. *Ag.* 39 'Rex ille regum, ductor Agamemnon ducum') and Aesch. was sufficiently likely to give it currency, if not to originate it, as in his days the idea of sovereignty had become more or less associated with that of Oriental despotism, so that Agamemnon would appear to him a sort of reduced type of Xerxes (comp. *Pers.* 24 *βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὕποχοι μεγάλου*)" Conington.

μόριμον λάχος πιμπλάντων 360
χεροῖν πεισιβρότον τε βάκτρον.
I. l. c. ΗΛ. *μηδ' ὑπὸ Τρωΐας*

361. πισιμβροτον.

We may add (1) that the speakers are slaves; (2) that the rise of the Atridae to something like a τυραννίς, or at least the apprehension of such a rise, is all-important to the plot and conception of the *Agamemnon* (see the Introduction to that play); and (3) that a reminiscence of Darius is specially appropriate in this scene, which by its whole purpose recalls the raising of the King's ghost in the *Persae* (601—681).

360—361: *of those whose (great) hands fill the office of destiny, and (suffice to bear) the rod that men obey.* **πιμπλάντων**: in prose τῶν πιμπλάντων, but it is characteristic of Aeschylus to use both adjectives and participles substantively without article (πιπλάντων Heath, for metre, but without need; see Appendix II.) *who fill* literally (not *fulfil*, i.e. *execute*, which would force the sense of the word); their hands, *i.e.* their powers, are great enough for the great function.—**μόριμον λάχος**: not 'their destined office', which would be pointless, since all men fill a μόριμον λάχος in this sense as much as kings, but a supreme and god-like office, like that of μοῖρα, disposing at pleasure of mankind. —**βάκτρον**. The selection of the *staff* as the type of office is doubtless not specially happy with regard to the metaphor πιμπλάντων, since literally it is the staff which *fills* the hands, not the hands which fill the staff. But this would be little felt in a language accustomed to '*zeugma*', and does not justify the change πεισιβρότῳ τε βάκτρῳ (de Pauw).

362—370. Electra, passionate in her grief, speaks not merely, as before (331—338), in the tones of despair, but with a wild impatience, for which she is gently rebuked by the aged leader of the chorus (*v.* 371): "If we are to wish that some one had 'died in Troy', better wish at once that it had been Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, and that we had had none of this trouble!"—γυναικικῶς οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἀρέσκεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνῃρῆσθαι: 'Woman-like, she is dissatisfied even with the wish of Orestes, and prefers to wish that Agamemnon had not been destroyed at all': schol.

362—365. **μηδὲ...τεθάφθαι** Ahrens. The construction μηδὲ...τεθάψαι is impossible; and the infinitive (certified by the schol. λείπει τὸ ὤφειλες) is here particularly appropriate, since Electra is not really expressing this wish, but rather suggesting it as a better formula, if wish there is to be, than that of Orestes. The infinitive therefore, used in forms of all kinds (prayers, laws, agreements, etc.) is proper to the meaning. Since this use of the infinitive (see on *v.* 306) seems to be derived originally from that in *Oblique Petition*, the nominative case φθίμενος (σύ) is not strictly logical or correct. Grammatical analysis would require φθίμενόν σε. But through habitual employment the simple infinitive had ceased to be felt as dependent even by implication, and became grammatically dead; so it was, or could be, treated just as an optative. The nominative case is in practice regular, when the inf. stands for the *2nd pers.* (Kühner *Gr. Grammar* § 474). Here the 3rd person is put in the nominative also; the parallelism of the clauses makes this almost necessary; and the grammatical objection, already disregarded in φθίμενος, is naturally not perceptible in οἱ κτανόντες. The irregularity becomes less natural if, in order to remove the inconsistency between πάτερ and νιν, we read (with

τείχεσσι φθίμενος, πάτερ,
μετ' ἄλλων δορικμῆτι λαῷ
παρὰ Σκαμάνδρου πόρον τεθάφθαι. 365
πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες
νιν οὕτως δαμῆναι,
θανατηφόρον αἶσαν
πρόσσω τινὰ πυνθάνεσθαι
τῶνδε πόνων ἄπειρον. 370

I. centre. ΧΟ. ταῦτα μέν, ὦ παῖ, κρείσσονα χρυσοῦ
μεγάλης δὲ τύχης καὶ ὑπερβορέου
μείζονα φωνεῖς· δύνασαι γάρ.
ἀλλὰ διπλῆς γὰρ τῆσδε μαράγνης

365. τεθάψαι. 373. φωνεῖ· ὁ δυνᾶσαι. 374. μαράγμης.

some) πατήρ. The free use of apostrophe is characteristic both of Greek and of Latin. See also Appendix I. § 11.

363—364. τείχεσι Heath, δουρικμῆτι Blomfield, for metre; but see Appendix II.—μετ' ἄλλων...λαῷ: *with a foreign people, slain in war.* ἄλλων λαός, like Περσῶν λαός *the Persians*, Φρυγῶν λαός *the Phrygians*, etc.: and for δορικμῆτι cf. *Pers.* 731 λαὸς πᾶς κατέφθαρται δορί. Electra refers to Orestes' picture of Agamemnon 'buried with Troy' (*v.* 350): it would have been a poor consolation, she thinks, that a destroyed nation lay with him in his grave.—Dindorf and others rightly retain ἄλλων. The conjecture ἄλλῳ (Stanley) assumes the meaning to be *cum cetera plebe*, 'with the mass *of the Greeks*', an idea natural in itself but not adapted, like the other, to the words of Orestes.

366. πάρος: *instead, rather.*—On the text and schol. see Appendix I. § 11.

368—370: 'that so we might have heard the message of their death from afar, and have escaped this trouble'.—In θανατηφόρον the two parts of the compound have their force separately: θάνατος defines αἶσα to mean *death*, and -φορος (*borne*) refers to πυνθάνεσθαι and signifies 'carried to our hearing'. See a precise parallel in *Theb.* 406 τρέμω αἱματηφόρους μόρους...ἰδέσθαι 'I fear to see the carrying of a bloody corpse', and note there.—The rendering 'deadly fate' is pointless, nor would it be like Aeschylus to introduce φέρειν without definite sense.—τινὰ πυνθάνεσθαι: consecutive, 'so that one should learn'.

371—373. 'These are splendid wishes, but beyond reality and impossible'.—μέν contrasts κρείσσονα χρυσοῦ with μεγάλης... μείζονα.—κρείσσονα χρυσοῦ: 'better than the best'. For this proverbial signification of *gold* Stanley and others refer to Aristot. *paean.* in Herm. 7 χρυσοῦ τε κρείσσω καὶ γάνεων, Pind. *Ol.* 1. 1. ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτί κτλ.—ὑπερβορέου. The ideal felicity of the Hyperboreans, an imaginary people 'beyond the North' (or 'beyond the *mountains*', ὄρος) is exquisitely described in Pindar *Pyth.* 10. 47.—φωνεῖς· δύνασαι γάρ (Hermann, from the schol. ῥᾴδιον γὰρ τὸ εὔχεσθαι) 'thou givest *words* to these wishes, for that thou canst do', with the implication, 'but thou canst do no more'.

374—376. "The chorus reassure themselves by the thought, already expressed in a somewhat different form (*v.* 322 *foll.*) that the dirge has a virtue of its own, and

δοῦπος ἱκνεῖται· τῶν μὲν ἀρωγοὶ
κατὰ γῆς ἤδη, τῶν δὲ κρατούντων
χέρες οὐχ ὅσιαι, στυγερῶν τούτων,
παισὶ δὲ μᾶλλον γεγένηται. 375

that being well set on foot, it is already beginning to have its effect in arousing the avengers below" (Conington, following Müller). This explanation is now generally accepted, as against that of the schol. and others, that διπλῆ μάραγνα signifies 'a double calamity'; the latter, as Con. says, breaks down at every point.—μαράγνης or μαράγμης seems to have signified some kind of *scourge* or instrument of torture. The form is elsewhere μάραγνα (see L. and Sc. *s.v.*) but μαράγμη may be a synonym: the word is too rare for any certain conclusion. Why it should here be applied to the κομμός we might be more able to say, if we knew exactly what a μάραγνα was, or how it was used. Some light may be thrown on the question by διπλῆς, the meaning of which is, I think, certain. The dirge, or rather this portion of it, is called *double*, not merely because Orestes and Electra take part in it, but because of its elaborately *duplicate construction, which is now for the first time apparent*. This group of anapaests is the centre of the whole system; *two* triplets have preceded and *two* are to follow. In performance, the symmetric movements of the chorus and actors, and their relation to the space and form of the orchestra, would make such points perfectly intelligible (see above on *vv.* 305, 333, 338). This being so, it is, in my judgment, not unlikely that the comparison to a μάραγνα also refers to the form of the dirge, perhaps to its triplicity, or to the movements, or even to the aspect of the performers in their present position. Such a reference is of course contrary to our aesthetic canons; but if the Greeks had shared our opinion on such matters, choric action and choric drama would never have arisen at all. It is generally supposed that μάραγνα is merely metaphorical: "the prayer, having the nature of a reproach, is compared to a scourge" (Conington). I do not see how, with no more help than is given by the context and situation, any one could possibly understand the metaphor in this sense. Conington is however clearly right in thinking that the μάραγνα takes effect, not on the murderers, but on the spirits below, who are invoked. This appears from ἱκνεῖται (*is reaching its destination*) and the words immediately following.

375—378. Three grounds are specified on which the cause of Orestes and Electra may hope for the aid of the ancestral spirits: (1) their appeal is already made (ἤδη), whereas they have intercepted the atonement offered on the part of Clytaemnestra; (2) if their enemies were to appeal, they would come with 'unclean hands'; (3) the present appeal must have told with special effect, as coming from children of the spirit specially invoked.—παισὶ δὲ μᾶλλον γεγένηται: lit. 'the thing is done' or 'the effect is produced for children more (than it could be for those who are not)'. γεγένηται, *it is effected*, represents, according to the habit of the language, merely something (to be determined by the context) which could be expressed by a passive verb, here therefore that 'the aid of the subterranean spirits is secured', τὸ ἀρωγοὺς τοὺς κατὰ γῆς εἶναι γεγένηται).—Here we must carefully observe (1) that παισί is not definite ('*the* children', '*his* children') but generic, 'the children as children'; (2) that the subject of γεγένηται must be such as can be supplied from the context. It is the neglect of the second point, which has created difficulty. Hence Conington:

I. 2. a. ΟΡ. *τοῦτο διαμπερὲς ὡς*
ἵκεθ' ἅπερ τε βέλος.
Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων
ὑστερόποινον ἄταν
βροτῶν τλήμονι καὶ πανούργῳ

"This line apparently sums up the result *of the contest* (italics mine), as augured by the presumed disposition of the powers below. *μᾶλλον γεγένηται* I would understand of success, though I know of no similar use of this word"; and to the same effect Paley and Sidgwick, who however notes the interpretation as 'very strange'. On the connexion of thought and the religious conception implied see further Appendix I. § 12.—In **κρατούντων** and (as Con. observes) in **στυγερῶν τούτων** breaks out the intense hatred of the slaves for their tyrant-masters, which is a feeling quite different from that of Orestes and Electra. Note that **τούτων** implies a demonstrative gesture.

379—421. The double-triplet is repeated. The distribution of parts is uncertain, as the MS. merely marks the divisions, and there is no clear internal evidence. I follow Schütz (and others) in supposing the order to be the same as in the preceding triplets. A schol. (see next note) reverses the parts of Orestes and Electra; and so also Hermann and others.

379. Something is noted as peculiarly loud: *τοῦτο ἰδίᾳ ἀναπεφώνηται, [τῶν ἄγαν στυγερῶν τούτων. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον ('Αγαμέμνονος) τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ συμβέβηκεν]. πρὸς ὃ ἐπάγει 'Ηλέκτρα ὅτι ὡς βέλος μου ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἤψατο*: schol. to *v.* 377; the words in brackets have been incorporated by mistake. Probably the whole preceding passage, or at any rate *vv.* 374—378, is a *crescendo*, the voices joining in gradually and rising to the full strength of the chorus. To Orestes the volume of the triumphant sound seems itself an assurance that it is heard in the other world (cf. *ἵκετο* with *ἱκνεῖται v.* 375).—**ὡς**. *οὕς* Schütz, *ὡσ* corr. to *ὡς* M. I retain the Doric form, as possibly right; see on *Ag.* 1508. —**ἵκεθ'**: *ἵκετο* M.—**ἅπερ τε βέλος**: 'Right through the ear this pierces, *and* like an arrow'; *τε* couples the adverbial phrases *διαμπερὲς ὡς* and *ἅπερ βέλος*, so that *ἅπερ βέλος* seems to be added as an afterthought and addition. This, though irregular, seems natural and effective, more so than *ἅπερ τι βέλος* (conj. of Schütz). Somewhat similar is Soph. *Ant.* 653 *πτύσας ὡσεί τε δυσμενὴ μέθες*. Wordsworth (and Conington), citing this, take *ὡσεί τε* for *ὡσεί* and *ἅπερ τε* here for *ἅπερ*: but evidence is wanting that *ἅπερ τε* can stand for *ἅτε*, and on Soph. see Jebb *ad loc.*

380

381—384. The apostrophe is a cry of emotion, called forth by the peal of the voices. It has no sequel (see on *Ag.* 1469); but we need not suppose any change of thought or aposiopesis.—**ἀμπέμπων**: *thou who sendest up;* for the deflexion from participle to finite verb (*ὑστερόπ. ἀμπέμπων...τοκεῦσι δὲ τελεῖται*), cf. *Ag.* 1456 *ἰὼ 'Ελένα...μία τὰς πολλὰς ψυχὰς ὀλέσασα,...νῦν δὲ τελείαν ἐκπνεύσω*, where see note. The parallel is precise, and the principle the same as in *v.* 26 *sup.* and similar cases. In fact we might here say that *τοκεῦσι δ' ὄμως τελεῖται* is antithetic to *ὑστερόποινον* (*punishment which delays but is accomplished nevertheless*), as in *v.* 26 *δι' αἰῶνος* κτλ. is to *νεοτόμῳ*. So in *Ag. l. c. νῦν δὲ* κτλ. may be regarded as antithetic to *τὰς πολλάς*.—Various conjectures have been suggested to make this verse correspond in syllables to *v.* 395, of which **κάτωθ' ἀναπέμπων** (Grotefend) seems the best. Mr W. G. Headlam would further convert the apostrophe into a complete sentence by changing *ἀναπέμπων* (in Grotefend's read-

χειρί, τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελεῖται.
I. 2. b. ΧΟ. ἐφυμνῆσαι γένοιτό μοι 385
πγκάεντ' ὀλολυγμὸν ἀνδρὸς

386. πευκήεντ'.

ing) to ἀναπέμπειν (hortatory infinitive, *send up*). This accords better with modern rhetorical practice, which excludes an apostrophe without sequel. But both in Greek and in Latin it is common. On the metrical question itself, which is, I think, doubtful, see Appendix II.

384. τοκεῦσι δὲ...τελεῖται. The meaning of this is undoubtedly, as explained by Merkel, that deferred punishment (ὑστερόποινον) is paid like a debt with interest (τόκος). All other explanations (as that τοκεῦσι is contrasted with παισί in *v.* 379; Conington) are forced and unnatural. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 160 εἴπερ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν, ἕκ τε καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ, σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν, σὺν σφῇσιν κεφαλῇσι κτλ. But this very passage throws doubt on Merkel's conjecture τόκοισι: it should be σὺν τόκοισι: nor can I find any parallel for the bare dative in such a sense. The literal version is 'it (deferred punishment) is nevertheless paid to parents (of it)'; and the question is, who are the 'parents', and why so called? I think that we have the favourite Aeschylean figure of punishment (after increase of sin) as the *child of the first sin* (see *Ag.* 385, 764 ἅτα εἰδομένα τοκεῦσιν a close parallel, etc.). The parents are *the wicked hands*, and the figure is suggested by the antithesis between the two words for *wicked*, as respectively *passive* and *active*: τλήμων καὶ πανοῦργος is an abbreviation for παντλήμων καὶ πανοῦργος: τλήμων *patiens* signifies strictly 'one who will *bear* sin', not shrink from it, and πανοῦργος 'one who will *do* it'. (It is needless to say that τλῆναι, τλήμων can be applied to an agent, as indeed they are here, *e.g.* τλᾶσ' ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον· οὐ γὰρ γελᾶσθαι τλητόν, Eur. *Med.* 796: but they are by origin *passive*; and note that Euripides, like Aeschylus, makes a point out of the fact.) The contrast of the sexes and their functions, as active and passive, is common everywhere; see *e.g.* Eur. *Ion* 252 ὦ τλήμονες γυναῖκες, ὦ τολμήματα θεῶν, Aesch. *Theb.* 351 δμωΐδες τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον, Virg. *Aen.* 3. 327 *invenem superbum tulimus*, the special sense of the Latin *pati*, etc. In *Theb.* 739 a point is made by misapplying τλῆναι in this connexion, σπείρας ἄρουραν, ἵν' ἐτράφη, μίζαν αἱματόεσσαν ἔτλα, where see note. Thus the point suggested is that punishment, though sometimes deferred, does as naturally follow upon sin, as birth upon begetting; and, as in the parallel, it grows in the interval (cf. *vv.* 61—62, where the same figure is applied in precisely the same way). The expression is excessively brief and obscure; but we have ample proof that to Aeschylus this group of ideas was a commonplace of religious language: and such language is generally unintelligible, from condensation, to those who have not been bred to it.

386. πυκάεντ(α) (Dindorf for πευκήεντ'): παρηγυρικόν, λαμπρόν schol. A gloss in Theognostus explains the apparently cognate πυκᾶες by ἰσχυρόν. The word, with either spelling, is otherwise unknown; but this passage strongly suggests that Aeschylus at any rate connected it with πύκα-ἄημι and supposed it to mean *strong-blowing* (see *v.* 390). The application here of the metaphor *wind* to the joyful ὀλολυγμός at the death is like that of οὖρος to the lament in *Theb.* 839; the souls of the dying tyrants will be 'wafted away' with a hearty cheer. And in another aspect the metaphor is parallel to that of *Ag.* 1179, where plain speech, as contrasted with

θεινομένου γυναικός τ'
ὀλλυμένης. τί γὰρ κεύθω
φρενὸς †θεῖον; ἔμπας
ποτᾶται· πάροιθεν δὲ πρῴρας 390
δριμὺς ἅηται κραδίας

391. καρδίας.

obscure, is compared to a wind λαμπρὸς πνέων. So here the 'strong breeze' of the ὀλολυγμός signifies the strength of the long-concealed feelings which it will express. Cf. also *Ag.* 228 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβὴ τροπαίαν. Thus in the schol. the gloss λαμπρόν (*strong*, of a wind) appears to be ancient and right; ἰσχυρόν for πνευσεῖς (or πνευσάς, cf. δυσᾶής) is also right; πανηγυρικόν (late Greek for *festal*) is wrong, and probably a mere guess. As a matter of science, it is possible that neither πυκήεις (πυκάεις) nor πυκάης contains the stem of δημι, but both are formed with different suffixes direct from πυκα- and are synonyms of πυκνός (so Dindorf, *Lex. Aesch. s.* πευκήεις).—The interpretation *piercing* is without evidence or probability; and that which refers πευκήεις to the *pine-wood* (πεύκη) of the funeral pyre makes the word, as an epithet of ὀλολυγμός, intolerable.

386. ἀνδρὸς θεσπεσίου: '*of* (*i.e. about* or *over*) the striking down of the man'.

389. θεῖον is corrupt and, as the metre shows (*v.* 413), has replaced a word of the same quantities beginning with a vowel. Of the conjectures proposed one alone (φρενὸς οἶστρον O. Müller) satisfies the context, which clearly points to the metaphor either of a *wind* or, more probably, of a *ship*. Indeed even οἶστρον is scarcely applicable, for it cannot properly be said of a wind, that it *flies* or *flutters* when it is not *concealed*. The reading of Hermann, τί γὰρ κεύθω φρενὸς οἷον ἔμπας ποτᾶται; *Why should I conceal the kind of feeling* (?) *which in spite of me flutters from* (?, or *in*?) *my heart?* is barely even construable. The lost word was presumably a rare and peculiar term; and it is probably now irrecoverable. The meaning wanted is 'Why should I not *show my true colours?*'; and for θεῖον we must have the name of some object which would be exhibited on a ship or boat, like our flags, so as to announce its character. Signals from ships are often mentioned, but it does not generally appear how they were made; nor have we any information on the subject antique enough to illustrate Aeschylus. I have thought of οἶσον as not unlikely. The word (see L. and Sc. *s.* οἶσος and οἶσον) was cognate to οἰσύα, οἶσυνον and signified anything (such as rope and other tackle) made, by twisting or plaiting, from a certain species of *willow*. It seems possible that mat-work or tassel-work of this sort was used for a rude flag, which might be named from its material. In uncials this is as close to the MS. as anything well could be. However the word must remain doubtful: the required sense seems to me clear.—ἔμπας ποτᾶται: 'it (the pennon) flies for all that', *i.e.* without metaphor, 'my true feeling will show itself'. For an exact parallel to ποτᾶται see *Ag.* 967 δεῖγμα προστατήριον καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται, as explained in the notes there.

390—392. The signal, which was probably shown on the prow, suggests a fresh comparison of their hatred to the bitter brine which is blown in the wind 'before the prow' (*i.e.* from the lips), as the vessel dashes it into spray.—κραδίας (Hermann) is probably right, though the antistrophe is uncertain. M has καρδία even in *P. V.* 907, where κραδία seems necessary, and see also *Theb.* 766.

θυμός, ἔγκοτον στύγος.
I. 2. a. ΗΛ. καὶ πότ' ἂν ἀμφιθαλὴς
Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι,
φεῦ φεῦ, κάρανα δαΐξας; 395
πιστὰ γένοιτο χώρᾳ.
δίκαν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκων ἀπαιτῶ.

393. **πότε.** Note the impatient tone, and cf. *vv.* 331, 362: this is strong, though perhaps not decisive, evidence for assigning the part to Electra, not to Orestes. See above on *v.* 379.—**ἀμφιθαλής**: here used in its full sense, 'strong on both sides', *i.e.* in both hands (cf. ἀμφιδέξιος), and so able to strike both heads at once; 'refero ad duplicem quam chorus praesagit caedem' Weil. The figure may have been suggested by some work of art.—This is surely right; the explanation of Butler (and Conington), that Zeus is ἀμφιθαλής because protector of *two* orphan children seems forced and irrelevant; nor is it justified by the fact that a child whose two parents were living could naturally be called ἀμφιθαλής (Hom. *Il.* 22. 496).

394. **ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι**: *i.e.* ἐπιβάλοι χεῖρα, 'lay hand on'. The sing. χεῖρα is generic, and not inconsistent with ἀμφιθαλής.

395. **φεῦ**: here, as often, with the tone of indignant reproach (against the delay of justice).

396. *Let faith be established again*, literally 'let assurance be restored to its place'. The thought is the same as that put into the mouth of Electra by Euripides (*El.* 583 πέποιθα δ', ἡ χρὴ μηκέτ' ἠγεῖσθαι θεούς, | εἰ τἄδικ' ἔσται τῆς δίκης ὑπέρτερα) with this difference, that there she declares her confidence that the deity will justify belief by the punishment of unrighteousness, and here she demands (see next verse) that he shall. Cf. also *Theb.* 553 εἰ θεοὶ θεοί, τοὺσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν γᾷ *if the gods be gods, let them sink these blasphemers in earth.*—**πιστά**: *assurance, confidence*; a prose-writer would have written τὸ πιστόν.—**γένοιτο χώρᾳ**: equivalent to the later formula γένοιτο κατὰ χώραν 'be put into its former and proper place', for which see L. and Sc. *s.v.* χώρα. Here the quasi-locative χώρᾳ (or perhaps χώραι, as χάμαι) replaces the more precise and distinctive preposition. Cf. Herod. 4. 201 τάμνοντες ὅρκια, ἢν τ' ὦν ἡ γῆ αὕτη οὕτως ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην (*that the oath should remain in place* i.e. *established* and *valid*). For the locative with a 'verb of motion' see Monro *Homeric Grammar* § 145 (4), πεδίῳ πέσε, κυνέῃ βάλε, etc.—From the familiar use of the word πιστός in the formula (ὅρκια) πιστὰ τέμνειν, 'to give assurance by the ceremony of cutting in pieces the sacred victim' (see Herod. above) we may conclude, I think, with certainty that it is here suggested to the poet by the foregoing κάρανα δαΐξας, *splitting* or *dividing the heads*. The guilty are to serve as victims in that ceremony of assurance by means of which divine justice will restore faith.—The common explanation, 'Let pledges (or *confidence*) be given *to the country*' (*i.e.* to Argos) is untenable. To support this sense, χώρα must be limited and defined by the context; and in the present ritual of mourning and invocation of the dead, which is essentially domestic, such a political reference would be misplaced and scarcely intelligible. For χώρα *place* (not in the political sense) see *Ag.* 78 Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἔνι χώρᾳ.—See further on *v.* 398.

397. *Right instead of wrong is what I demand.* "ἐξ *after, instead of*, like τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος etc." (Scholefield, Sidgwick). Euripides (see previous note) seems to have interpreted thus, and not, as others, 'I

κλῦτε δὲ γᾶ χθονίων τε τιμαί.
I. 2. centre. ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας
χυμένας ἐς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν
αἷμα. βοᾷ γὰρ λοιγὸν Ἐρινὺς
παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην
ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄτῃ.
I. 2. c. ΟΡ. ποῖ ποῖ δή, νερτέρων τυραννίδες;

398. ταχθονίων τετιμαι. ἐν 402. προτέρων.

demand right from the unrighteous', which gives not only a less likely use of ἐξ, but also a less appropriate sense. It is not from the wicked but from God that justice is here demanded.

398. **γᾶ χθονίων τε τιμαί** H. L. Ahrens. This appeal to 'Earth and the nether powers', as well as the following reference to 'blood shed upon the ground', follows out the metaphor from the ceremony *δρκια τέμνειν*. See the description of it in Hom. *Il.* 3. 292, and the preliminary invocation of the *χθόνιοι*, *ib.* 278. [In passing I would suggest that the solution of the difficulty there may be to read *οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντες* (see Dr Leaf's note), and that the powers invoked are, or in the original conception had been, simply the spirits of the dead. We have seen, *sup.* 282, that the Erinyes themselves were probably a mythological development of the avenging ghosts.] In Homer's ceremony the throats of the victims are cut and they are laid 'gasping upon the ground', *i.e.* so as to bleed into it. But that the rite was sometimes performed by 'splitting the head', as Aeschylus here suggests, is indicated in Homer by the formula of imprecation against violators of the pact, *ὣδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι, ὡς ὅδε οἶνος*, a formula not very appropriate to the altered symbol, and manifestly betraying its origin.

399. **μέν** := *μήν*, simply affirmative, as in Homer.—**ἀλλὰ νόμος** Turnebus, ἀλλ' *ἄνομος* M.

401—403. **βοᾷ...ἐπάγουσ' ἂν**: *summons havoc, and must bring...ruin upon ruin.* The construction is a variation of *βοῶσα...ἐπάγοι ἄν* or *βοᾷ, καὶ ἐπάγοι ἄν*, the distribution of participle and verb being in such cases indifferent. The form *ἐπάγουσ' ἄν* is stronger than *ἐπάγουσα*, which might mean only that the Erinys by her cries endeavours to bring ruin, whereas *ἐπάγουσ' ἄν* signifies that she must and will.—**ἐπάγουσ' ἂν** Bothe, *ἐπάγουσαν* M. It does not appear why this simple remedy of the text is tacitly rejected in favour of λοιγὸς Ἐρινὺν (Schütz), which (1) is technically less probable, and (2) applies λοιγός inappropriately to the original murder instead of to the indefinite sequel of deaths.—**πρότερον** Portus, *προτέρων* M.

404. **ποῖ ποῖ δή**; *How long then, how long?* Supply *ἐπάξετε ἄτην* from the preceding context, 'At what point will our waiting end in the expected vengeance?' Cf. *v.* 1074 *ποῖ καταλήξει μένος ἄτης*; 'How long must this misery continue before the close?' lit. 'To what point will it close?' Orestes takes up the protesting tone of Electra (*v.* 394) —The MS. reading is better in sense than *πόποι δᾶ* (Paley) and has nothing against it (see Appendix II). It has been exposed to suspicion chiefly by imperfect punctuation (*ποῖ ποῖ δὴ νερτέρων τυραννίδες*;) and rendering *Where are the powers below?* (Con.) *Quo abierunt?* (Weil).

ἴδετε πολυκρατεῖς ἀραὶ φθιμένων, 405
ἴδεσθ' Ἀτρειδᾶν τὰ λοίπ' ἀμηχάνως
ἔχοντα καὶ δωμάτων
ἄτιμα. πᾷ τις τράποιτ' ἄν, ὦ Ζεῦ;
I. 2. b. ΧΟ. πέπαλται δ' αὖτέ μοι φίλον
κέαρ τόνδε κλύουσαν οἶκτον. 410
καὶ τότε μὲν δύσελπις,
σπλάγχνα δέ μοι κελαινοῦται
πρὸς ἔπος κλυούσᾳ·
ὅταν δ' αὖτ' †ἐπαλκὲς
θραρεαπέστασεν ἄχος 415

408. πετιστραποιταν. 409. πεπάλατε. 412. μου.

405. **ἀραὶ φθιμένων**: *curses* (*avenging spirits*) *of the dead, i.e.* the Erinyes (Eum. 420) but under that primitive form, in which they are scarcely yet separated from the human spirits whose cause they represent. The whole mythological history of the Greek underworld (regarded as a place of punishment) is summarized in the transition from ἀραὶ φθιμένων to νεοτέρων τυραννίδες.—**φθειμένων** for **φθιμένων** M, probably due to the common mis-spelling, not to critical correction of the metre. The modern attempts to restore syllabic correspondence (**πεφαμένων** O. Müller, **τεθυμένων** Hermann, etc.) are not successful; **τεθυμένων** (*sacrificed*) is not appropriate in sense, and **πεφαμένων** is too far from the letters. As to the metre, see Appendix II.

406. "**τὰ λοιπά** rather than **τοὺς λοιπούς**, from a sort of self-contempt, *all that remains of the Atridae*" Conington.

407. **δωμάτων ἄτιμα.** The gen. depends on the privative, 'deprived of their rights in the house'.

408. **πετιστραποιταν** M, corr. in margin.

409. **πέπαλται** Turnebus.

410. **μοι...κλύουσαν**: the construction 'according to the sense' ("as if such an expression as **φόβος ὑπῆλθέ με** had preceded" Wecklein) is illustrated from Soph. *El.* 480 **ὅπεστί μοι θράσος,...κλύουσαν ὀνειράτων**, Eur. *Med.* 55, *Iph. A.* 491. The psychological ground of it is the wavering of the mind under strong emotion between the aspects of the feeling as part of self (dative) and something which overpowers and moves the self (acc.).

411. **δύσελπις.** Should we supply **ἐστὶν οἶκτος** (*sometimes the lament is a lament of despair, and then my heart is darkened*, etc.) or **εἰμί** (*sometimes I despair*)? The antithetic sentence (*vv.* 414—416) being destroyed, we can hardly say. It is usual to assume the ellipse of **εἰμί**: but it would be, in this case, uncommonly harsh and hard to understand. Con. refers to Eur. *Med.* 612 **λέγ'· ὡς ἕτοιμος [εἰμί] ἀφθόνῳ δοῦναι χερί** and id. *Hel.* 1523 **πῶς; εἰδέναι πρόθυμος [εἰμί]**: but with **ἕτοιμος** the ellipse is specially idiomatic, and in *Hel.* 1523 abruptness of phrase is excused by the circumstances, and the context determines the supplement with certainty.

412. **μοι** Schütz for the later (Hellenistic) **μου**.

413: *in respect* or *consideration of the word, when I hear it.*

414—416 are hopelessly corrupted. Paley's reading, **ὅταν δ' αὖτ' ἐπ' ἀλκῆς (-ἦν) ἐπάρῃ μ' | ἐλπὶς, ἀπέστασεν ἄχος | προσφανεῖσά μοι καλῶς**, gives the general sense and a correspondent metre; but something more recondite in vocabulary

πρὸς τὸ φανεῖσθαί μοι καλῶς†.
I. 2. c. ΗΛ. τί δ' ἂν φάντες τύχοιμεν [ἄν]; ἢ τάπερ
πάθομεν ἄχεα πρός γε τῶν τεκομένων;
πάρεστι σαίνειν, τὰ δ' οὔτι θέλγεται.
λύκος γὰρ ὥστ' ὠμόφρων,
ἄσαντος ἐκ ματρός ἐστι θυμός.
II. a. ΧΟ. ἔκοψα κομμὸν Ἄριον ἔν τε Κισσίοις

417. φάντες. 418. ἄχθεα. 422. ἄρειον εἴτε κισσίοις.

or expression is probably accountable for the mischief. The schol. presume the corrupt text and give no assistance.

417—421. 'What is the best theme (to sustain our spirits)? Is it not that of our wrongs, which are unappeasable as the cruelty that inflicted them?'

417. 'What shall we be right in saying? Or (shall we be right in describing) the woes etc.?' φάντες Bothe, from the schol. τί δεινὸν εἰπόντες κατὰ Κλυταιμνήστρας τύχοιμεν τῇ σῇ συμμαχίᾳ, ὦ πάτερ; Note however that this explanation is in itself wrong: τύχοιμεν (*attain the object*) refers simply to the implied demand of the chorus, that the topic shall be inspiriting. —There is a slight irregularity in the sequence of clauses, since not φάντες but some cognate word (*e.g.* λέγοντες) is required, according to common usage, to govern the acc. ἄχεα. This may be removed by punctuating (with Wecklein) thus: ἢ τάπερ...τεκομένων, πάρεστι σαίνειν κτλ. 'Or (shall we say that) the wrongs, which we have received, are unappeasable?' But then τάπερ (lit. '*just* the wrongs', '*what else but* the wrongs?') is no longer appropriate; and the common division is preferable.—τύχοιμεν ἄν: the repetition of ἄν is admissible both in grammar and metre; but τύχοιμεν (Hermann) may well be right.

418. We should note carefully γε, (*yes, from a parent*), which imports that some special point in οἱ τεκόμενοι has occurred to the speaker's mind. This point, upon which hinges the sense of the next three lines, is that the personified wrongs of Clytaemnestra's children are themselves, as it were, the *children of her cruelty*, and naturally *implacable as the parent or mother of their being* (cf. *v.* 386 and note there). It is the want of this guiding idea which has caused disagreement and dissatisfaction among commentators.

ἄχεα Schwenk.

419. πάρεστι: somewhat like the Latin *licet* (Conington) but implying, more distinctly than *licet* conventionally does, an antithesis such as θέλγειν δ' οὐ πάρεστι.—τὰ: the personified ἄχεα.

420—421: *for their spirit, like that of a cruel wolf, is implacable by derivation from the mother of them.* ματρός: metaphorical, the cruelty of Clytaemnestra. There is of course an allusion to the physical relationship of the persons, but it is an allusion only; and the interpretation '*we* (Orestes and Electra) are naturally cruel as *our* mother' misses the point.

422—453. Part II. of the *Commos*, much briefer than the preceding part, but still exhibiting the *double-triple* division, three *strophae*, in the order AB, CC, AB. The distribution of parts among the performers, which is neither symmetrical nor exactly coincident with the division into *strophae*, is proved by internal evidence, the MS. giving no marks. The subject, as proposed by Electra (*v.* 418), is the cruelty of Clytaemnestra.

422—432. The chorus (or the chorus-leader) recall the sorrowful time of Agamemnon's murder and funeral, when they

νόμοις ἰηλεμιστρίας,
ἀπριγδόπληκτα, πολυπάλακτα δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν
ἐπασσυτεροτριβῆ τὰ χερὸς ὀρέγματα
ἄνωθεν ἀνέκαθεν, κτύπῳ δ' ἐπιρροθεῖ
κροτητὸν ἀμὸν καὶ πανάθλιον κάρα.

423. νόμοισιλεμιστριας. 424. ἄπρικτοι πλη-κτὰ πολυπάλαγκτα δὴν.

abandoned themselves to lamentation, while Clytaemnestra, adds Electra, buried her husband, like an enemy, without dirge or following (Wecklein).—This explanation, which makes **ἔκοψα** an ordinary narrative aorist, seems more natural and more consistent with **ἦν** in *v.* 424, than that of Peile (followed by Conington and others) which refers *ἔκοψα* to the gestures of the chorus at or just before the moment of speaking. The aor. (*ἔκοψα*), according to Greek usage, will bear this; but **ἦν** is not exactly an aor. for this purpose, and the transition to another time in the same tense (*ἔτλης v.* 432) would be harsh.

422—427. 'I expressed my grief with the wild gestures of an Asiatic professional mourner'.

422. **Ἄριον** Hermann. *Περσικόν* schol. Both Aria and Cissia were districts of the Persian empire.—**ἦν τε** Bothe. The conjunction couples *κομμὸν Ἄριον* to *ἐν νόμοις*, both, though different in form, being 'adverbial' to *ἔκοψα*.—**νόμοις** *fashion*: for the use of *ἐν* (*after*) cf. *Ag.* 909 *μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἄβρυνέ με.*

423. **ἰηλεμιστρίας** (Hermann): a performer of the *ἰάλεμος* or *ἰήλεμος*, of which (as Wecklein suggests) we have perhaps a representation in the conclusion of the *Persae*. The commentators refer to *Pers.* 940 *τὰν κακοφατίδα βόαν, κακομέλετον ἰὰν Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος, ib.* 123 *καὶ τὸ Κίσσιον πόλισμ' ἀντίδουπον ᾄσεται, ὀᾶ, τοῦτ' ἔπος γυναικοπληθὴς ὄμιλος ἀπύων, βυσσίνοις δ' ἐν πέπλοις πέσῃ λακίς.*

424. **ἀπριγδόπληκτα** (Scaliger, as if from *ἄπριξ*) or **ἀπριγδόπληκτα** (Blomfield, as if from *ἀπρίγδην*): (blows) *struck with clenching, i.e.* so as to clutch and to tear the hair and skin. Cf. *Pers.* 1057.—**πολυπάλαγκτα** (M) has no ascertainable sense; but the true reading is doubtful. **πολυπάλακτα** (Bothe) is most probable, and would mean 'causing much **πάλαγμός**', *i.e.* 'making raw wounds': **παλάσσειν** and the cognate words, signifying properly *smear*, or *dabble* are freely used of bleeding and blood-stains; here the notion of 'blood' may be easily understood from the context.—**πολυπλάνητα** (Blomfield, Lachmann) is too bold a change and not, I think, an appropriate word.—**δ' ἦν** Robortello: **δὴν** M.

425. **τὰ**: *those*, demonstrative or 'deiktic', is added for picturesque effect.

427. **ἀμὸν** (*our*) is used often with a singular subject, but in general of things which are naturally shared between more persons than one, (such as **πόλις**, **οἶκος**, **πατήρ** etc.), and not of things to which only the singular possessive (*my*) is properly applicable (see on *Theb.* 404). This is an exception, and may be compared with another exception there cited, Eur. *Iph. T.* 1139 *ἐν νώτοις ἀμοῖς πτέρυγας λήξαιμι θοάζουσα* (if this be the right reading). Perhaps both may be explained by the fact that they refer to parts of the body, and may be based originally on a conception of the *self* or person as a plurality of members and functions. However, convenient 'synonyms' have a natural tendency to pass, especially in poetry, beyond their proper limits.—**ἐπιρροθεῖ**: historic present, combined with the aor. (*ἔκοψα*) as in Soph. *El.* 95 *θρηνῶ πατέρ' ὃν κατὰ μὲν βάρβαρον αἶαν | φοίνιοι Ἄρης οὐκ ἐξένισεν, μήτηρ δ' ἡμὴ χὼ κοινολεχὴς*

II. b. ΗΛ. ἰὼ ἰὼ δαΐα
πάντολμε μῆτερ, δαΐαις ἐν ἐκφοραῖς
ἄνευ πολιτῶν ἄνακτ',
ἄνευ δὲ πενθημάτων
ἔτλης ἀνοίμωκτον ἄνδρα θάψαι.
II. c. ΟΡ. τὸ πᾶν ἀτίμως; ΗΛ. ἔλεξας. ΟΡ. οἴμοι.
πατρὸς δ' ἀτίμωσιν ἆρα τίσει;
ἔκατι μὲν δαιμόνων,
ἔκατι δ' ἀμᾶν χερῶν.
ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ νοσφίσας ὀλοίμαν.
II. c. ΧΟ. ἐμασχαλίσθη δέ γ', ὡς τό γ' εἰδῇς·

437. ἐλοίμαν. 438. ἐμασχαλίσθησ δὲ τωστοστειδησ.

Αἴγισθος...σχίζουσι κάρα κτλ. The view that the passage is narrative does not require the reading ἐπερρόθει (Stanley).

428. δαΐα: πολεμία, οὐ φίλη (*cruel*), applied to μῆτερ as the strongest possible contrast. The word (from δαΐς *war*) has in Aeschylus at least no other sense than πολέμιος, but signifies sometimes *enemy* strictly, sometimes *martial* or *warrior*. This sense is recognized by Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1022 ὃ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δάϊος εἶναι, and is to be assumed in *Pers.* 284 Πέρσαις δῄοις, *ib.* 989 ὦ δᾴων, wrongly cited for the meaning *miserable*. The evidences for this meaning require reconsideration: in Soph. *Ai.* 784 (ὦ δαΐα Τέκμησσα, δύσμορον γένος) δαΐα may be referred (note γένος) to the nationality of Tecmessa, as a λέχος δουριάλωτον, and may be practically equivalent to *foreigner* (cf. the Latin *hostis*). In Eur. *Andr.* 838 δαΐα τόλμα is an act of extreme cruelty attempted against a φίλος, and the use is parallel to that of the present passage.

429. δαΐαις: the burial *of an enemy*.

433. '*Or.* What! without any rites at all? *El.* Even so. *Or.* Oh, shame!'—Since in this section of the *commos* the parts (see on *v.* 422) are not symmetrically distributed, there is no objection to dividing a strophe between different speakers; and I suggest the division of this verse, as a simple rectification of the grammar. Given as one sentence to Orestes, τὸ πᾶν ἀτίμως ἔλεξας (in the supposed sense 'what you describe is utter dishonour') is a construction without example and to me inconceivable. Conington suggests, but doubtfully, the insufficient analogy of πῶς λέγεις; *how do you mean?*, πῶς δοκεῖς, *you may imagine how*. Others give no explanation. The question is scarcely one for argument; but my own feeling is clear.—I had proposed ταφὸν ἀτίμων ἔλεξας *it was the burial of a felon*, improved by Mr Sidgwick into ταφὰς ἀτίμους, but would now retract this conjecture as unnecessary.—ἔλεξας: lit. 'thou hast said it', *i.e.* 'it is as thou hast said'.

434. ἆρα τίσει; *Shall she not pay?* It is better to take this as a question, answered in the following, *Yes, by the help of heaven and our own hands.*

437. ὀλοίμαν Turnebus.—νοσφίσας: κτείνας: 'let me but kill, and then die myself'.—On the action of Orestes here see *inf. vv.* 442, 449.

438 foll.: best assigned after O. Müller and H. L. Ahrens to the chorus. —'Yes, and he was mutilated (for *that* you ought to know)'. ἐμασχαλίσθη Robortello, δέ γ' Hermann.—τό γ': I write this (and not τόδ', de Pauw) as accounting at once for the whole cor-

ἔπρασσε δ', ἅπερ νιν ὧδε θάπτει,
μόρον κτίσαι μασμένα
ἄφερκτον αἰῶνι σῷ.— 440

440. κτεῖναι (ν over erasure).

ruption. It was miswritten τοτ, by the usual confusion of T and Γ: and some one wrote a σ in the margin, probably at the same time dotting or marking the second τ, to suggest the reading (adopted by Klausen) ὡς τόσ' εἶδῃς, a manner of indicating conjectures which has been noticed several times elsewhere. This σ has found its way into two places; (1) it has produced the otherwise incomprehensible error ἐμασχαλίσθης and (2) it appears in the intended place, but along with the τ, which it was meant to expel.—μασχαλισμός, the mutilation of the corpse of a murdered man, is described by Suidas (*s.v.* ἐμασχαλίσθη, cited by Blomfield), who says that the extremities were cut off and made into a necklace, which was hung upon the neck and fastened under the arm-pits (μασχαλά). The object of the act is uncertain, and this passage, which is plainly meant to assign a motive, does not sufficiently explain itself. Suidas assigns the motive τὸ ἔργον ἀφοσιοῦσθαι (*to get quit of the deed*) which is vague: but the schol. on Soph. *El.* 445 is more precise (διὰ τούτων ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων ἀφαιρούμενοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν εἴς ὕστερόν τι δεινὸν παρ' ἐκείνων), and this is probably right as far as it goes; the mutilation was supposed to *disable* the dead. But see below *v.* 440.

439: *and this was done at the instance of her, who buried him thus.* κατεσκεύασε δὲ τὸ μασχαλισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρα, ἢ καὶ οὕτως ἀτίμως αὐτὸν θάψασα, schol. (to be read thus, and not as usually printed,...Κλυταιμνήστρα. ἢ καὶ οὕτως· ἀτίμως κτλ., which is not intelligible, as there is no 'alternative explanation' in the scholium).—ἔπρασσε: *urged it* on Aegisthus, 'wrought for its being done', not 'did it'. Note the tense and see L. and Sc. *s.v.* The conjecture of Portus ἔπρασσε δ' ἅπέρ νιν, ὧδε θάπτει (*and in the condition to which she had brought him she buried him*) does not properly account for the imperfect and puts a forced sense upon πράσσειν.—ὧδε: either *in this condition*, or rather (as the schol.) *as you have heard.*

440—441: *desiring to put a bar between the dead and thee, the living.*—κτίσαι (Stanley) *to make.* The ν in M is written over an erasure, and no doubt the original reading was κτεῖσαι, *i.e.* κτίσαι mis-spelt.—μόρον (ἐκείνου).: *him dead, his corpse*; see on *Theb.* 406.—αἰῶνι σῷ: *to* or *for thee living*, a dative of relation, depending on the whole phrase ἄφερκτον κτίσαι. For the use of the abstract αἰών, cf. Pindar *frag.* 96. 3 καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἕπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ, ζῷον δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον.—It is clear from this sentence that the μασχαλισμός, or the burial of the dead in that condition, was supposed to have the effect of hindering such communication between the murdered man and his possible avengers, as the murderers would naturally desire to prevent. The grounds of this belief we can perhaps hardly expect to understand.—All modern texts reject ἄφερκτον, and most have the reading ἄφερτον (Robortello), which is interpreted 'desiring to make his death intolerable to thee'. But (1) it is nowhere alleged, and cannot naturally be supposed, that Clytaemnestra did desire to increase the provocation of Orestes; the object of these ceremonies, both in what was omitted and what was done, was the strictly practical object of degrading and weakening the dead (identified with the corpse), so as to diminish his power of vengeance: and (2) with ἄφερτον, thus interpreted, there is no longer

κλύει πατρῴους δύας ἀτίμους;

II. a. ΗΛ. λέγεις πατρῷον μόρον· ἐγὼ δ' ἀπεστάτουν
ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία,
μυχοῦ δ' ἄφερκτος, πολυσίνου κυνὸς δίκαν, 445
ἑτοιμότερα γέλωτος ἀνέφερον λίβη,

442. δυσατίμους.

any point in the antithesis of *μόρος* and *αἰών*. —The schol. has *δυστυχίαν μεγίστην κατασκευάζουσα τῷ σῷ βίῳ, ὦ Ὄρεστα· ὃ ἐστιν, ἵνα δυστυχῇ βίον ζήσῃς, τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος μὴ δυναμένου σοι συμμαχῆσαι πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν* Κλυταιμνήστρας. Here the paraphrase *δυστυχίαν μεγίστην*, if it is anything more than a loose guess, points to *ἄφερτον* as a reading or conjecture. But on the other hand the final words *τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος* κτλ. have no justification, if *ἄφερτον* be read. They must be drawn from some commentator who saw that the real purpose of the rite was to disable the dead from aiding his avengers, and thus they defend *ἄφερκτον debarred*.

442. *Doth he hear how his father was cruelly outraged?* This is said to Electra. It is evident from the sequel (*vv.* 448—450), and particularly from *v.* 450 (where Orestes is bidden to calm his thoughts and to take in the sense of what is said to him), that after his passionate outburst (*vv.* 433—437) he remains for a time lost in a rapture of wrath and pity, scarcely seeming conscious of what is passing. Here the chorus-leader remarks this attitude, and with a certain anxiety appeals to Electra, who thereupon takes up the story, but in a tone less fierce and more pathetic.—**κλύει** therefore is right, and the MS. wants nothing but the note of interrogation. *κλύεις*.....*ἀτίμους* (Turn. and modern texts) is a change not very probable and, I think, injurious. See also next note.—**δύας ἀτίμους** Stanley. The schol., *τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς σοῦ*, points rather to a masculine word, but perhaps the writer took *δύας* to be such.

443. **λέγεις**...**μόρον**: *our dead father was used as thou sayest.* **λέγεις** answers correctly to the interrogative **κλύει**; *λέγειν* and *κλύειν* (*tell* and *be told*) being correlative. Electra takes the question as an appeal for her confirmation, which it is, though it also signifies more. In reply she assents to the story; but adds that she herself was not allowed to see what was done.—With the common reading of *v.* 442, **λέγεις** is no longer appropriate. Hence **ἔχεις** Hermann, **λέγει** Heimsoeth.—**μόρον** here also=*funus*, but in the sense of *funeral*, *disposition of the body*, rather than *corpse*; see on *v.* 440.

445. **μυχοῦ ἄφερκτος**: 'shut out of the interior of the house', where the mutilation was done, while Electra was rudely thrust into the yard. The comparison to the dog shows clearly that this is the meaning, and defends **μυχοῦ** against the proposed *μυχῷ*.—*κατάκλειστος περὶ τὴν εἱρκτήν* schol., taking *μυχοῦ* as a locative gen., as in Soph. *Ai.* 1274 *ἑρκέων ἐγκεκλεισμένους* (see Con.); but neither the sense nor the preposition (*ἀπό*) admits that construction here.—**πολυσίνου** or **πολυσινοῦς** (Porson). The MS. *πολυσίνους*, with the final *σ* erased, is in favour of the exceptional **πολυσίνου**, for which Hermann cites *κακοσινώτερος* (from *κακόσινος*) in Hippocrates. The mere fact that the only extant form of the substantive is *σίνος* (neut.), answering to *πολυσινής*, does not seem decisive on the other side.—The repetition of *ἄφερκτος* (see *v.* 441) is natural and not without point.

446. **ἑτοιμότερα γέλωτος**: she recalls her feelings at the time, as she listened to

χαίρουσι πολύδακρυν γόον κεκρυμμένα.
τοιαῦτ' ἀκούων ἐν φρεσὶν γράφου. ΧΟ. γράφοι,
II. b. δι' ὥτων δὲ συν-
τέτραινε μῦθον ἡσύχῳ φρονῶν βάσει, 450
τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει,
τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὀργᾷ μαθεῖν·

447. χ' ουσα, corr. to χαίρουσα. 448—49. ἐν φρεσσὶν | γράφου δι' ὥτων.

the laughter of her enemies over their horrible work.

447: *while their rejoicing covered my piteous lament:* **γόον** is 'inner accusative' or acc. of respect to the passive **κεκρυμμένα**, and **χαίρουσι** dative of agent or instrument. In the laughter of the murderers, and the jubilation of their friends, the orphans could wail unheard. See further App. II.

448—450. 'Yes, write them there; but (first) aid the words to pierce thy sense, by calming and steadying thy thoughts'. The repetition of **γράφου** (Klausen) seems to me certain, for (1) it explains the loss of the word; (2) it accounts for the fact that in the MS. γράφου is written, not at the end of *v.* 448, but at the beginning of *v.* 449: the lines were divided according to the sense, thus, ἐν φρεσὶν γράφου | γράφου δι' ὥτων δ' κτλ., and a copyist, supposing the repetition to be erroneous, omitted the first word; and (3) it explains and justifies **δέ**. For the partition of the strophe see on *v.* 433.—**συντέτραινε**. "The force of the preposition may be to intimate that the efforts of the hearer are to go along with those of the speaker, or to express the notion of boring so as to meet something (Lidd. and Scott *s. v.*)" Conington, comparing for the second view Plut. 2. 502 *d*, εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ ἀκοὴ συντέτρηται, where, however, this sense is determined by εἰς τὴν ψυχήν, whereas here the context seems to favour the other.—**τέτραινε μῦθον** 'bore the word through' *i.e.* 'make a passage' for it, an expression not logically accurate, but natural and intelligible.—**ἡσύχῳ φρονῶν βάσει**: 'by thinking ἡσύχως καὶ βεβαίως' lit. *on* or *with steady foundation*, ἠρεμαίᾳ τῇ ψυχῇ· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσέχων καὶ μὴ ἀποπλανώμενος schol. βάσις here signifies not *step, movement* but *ground*, '*basis*', τὸ ἐφ' ᾧ τις βέβηκε (*stands*).—ἡσύχῳ φρενῶν βάσει (Turn. and modern texts) is due to false rendering of βάσει, and produces, in τέτραινε βάσει, an extremely harsh collision of metaphors.

451—453: 'for what has been told you is fact, and though you are yourself eager to hear more, you need an unshaken heart for the coming fight'. These words are partly an apology, partly an admonition, and are to be explained by the action of the scene. The speaker, surprised and somewhat alarmed by the bearing of Orestes (see previous notes) begins to think that the process of stimulation has been carried far enough, if not too far, and that he is in danger of losing in a fury of grief the *temper of steel* (ἄκαμπτον μένος, lit. *unbendable spirit*, is a metaphor from the sword), which becomes one who has a fight before him. Accordingly she cuts the narrative short.—**τὰ μέν**: the preceding story, especially the μασχαλισμός: the speaker, who half regrets that she thrust in this incident, excuses herself by the plea customary in such a case, that 'facts are facts'.—**τὰ δέ**: further facts about the murder and its sequel, which Orestes 'is himself eager to hear'; a hint that it was his own question (*v.* 433) which drew out the foregoing.—**ὀργᾷ**: deponent (so Wecklein rightly, citing ὀργωμένοις· ἐντεταμένως ἐπιθυμουμένοις, Suid. and Phot.).—**καθή-**

πρέπει δ' ἀκάμπτῳ μένει καθήκειν.

III. a. ΟΡ. σέ τοι λέγω, ξυγγενοῦ, πάτερ, φίλοις.

ΗΛ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπιφθέγγομαι κεκλαυμένα. 455

ΧΟ. στάσις δὲ πάγκοινος ἅδ' ἐπιρροθεῖ,
ἄκουσον ἐς φάος μολών,
ξὺν δὲ γενοῦ πρὸς ἐχθρούς.

III. b. ΟΡ. Ἄρης Ἄρει ξυμβαλεῖ, Δίκᾳ Δίκα.

ΗΛ. ἰὼ θεοί, κραίνετ' ἔνδικ' ἐνδίκως. 460

ΧΟ. τρόμος μ' ὑφέρπει κλύουσαν εὐγμάτων.
τὸ μόρσιμον μένει πάλαι,
εὐχομένοις δ' ἂν ἔλθοι.

454. φίλοισι. 459. ξυμβάλλει. 460. ἔνδικ' omitted.

κειν *to enter the lists, come to contest:* see *inf.* 723 and L. and Sc. *s. vv.* καθήκω, καταβαίνω.—"*The past* is as has been said: *the future* do thou yearn (ὄργα Scaliger) to know thyself" Conington, comparing τάχ' εἴσεται (*sup.* 304); and so the commentators generally. But this antithesis of past and future cannot be found in the words.

454—463. Third section of the *Commos*, two *strophae*, each distributed between the three parts. The parts are not marked in the MS., but the division (Hermann) is obvious. Prayer for aid to Agamemnon and the gods.

454. **σέ τοι λέγω.** This peremptory address marks the fierce excitement of Orestes. Dr Wecklein compares *P. V.* 976, σὲ τὸν σοφίστην...λέγω, Soph. *Ai.* 1228, Eur. *Iph. A.* 855.

455. **κεκλαυμένα** *weeping*, middle deponent. Con. seems to be right in distinguishing this from the passive δεδακρυμένος *be-teared*. Note however that the perfect expresses strictly the state, not the action, of one who weeps.

457. **ἄκουσον...μολών**: *obey* (*comply*) *and come, comply by coming*. The actions of the participle and verb are contemporaneous, and in fact two aspects of the same action, as in *v.* 316, *v.* 395. But note that the meaning is not '*hear* and *then* come', a use of the part. rightly rejected by Heimsoeth and others (reading ἄρηξον) and not proved by the passages above cited and others, such as Hom. *Od.* 5. 374, ἀλὶ κάππεσε χεῖρε πετάσσας *he fell into the sea with hands outspread*. The true explanation is, that ἀκούειν here has the sense given in prose by the more precise compound ὑπακούειν: cf. *sup.* 5, *Ag.* 947, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε, and Dindorf, *Lex. Aesch.* ἀκούω. The expression corresponds to the imperative tone of the appeal; the avengers *command*, as their right, the aid of the infernal powers.

459. "*Justice with Justice*, as though to see which is the stronger and truer justice, perhaps not without a sense that the death of Agamemnon was a kind of Δίκα, as it was blood for the blood of Iphigenia" (Sidgwick). Orestes means the first, but the poet (if we may so say) the second.

460. **κραίν...δικως** M, **κραίνετ' ἐνδίκως** m. **ἔνδικ' ἐνδίκως** (Rossbach) best accounts for the loss, **ἐνδίκως δίκας** (Hermann) gives perhaps the best sense. If **ἔνδικα** be taken, we must suppose Aeschylus to have put upon it the artificial sense 'that which is *in dispute*', which is not unlikely.

IV. a. ἰὼ πόνος ἐγγενὴς
καὶ παράμουσος ἄτας
αἱματόεσσα πλαγά.
ἰὼ δύστον' ἄφερτα κήδη·
ἰὼ δυσκατάπαυστον ἄλγος.
IV. b. δώμασιν ἔμμοτον
τῶνδ' ἄκος, οὐδ' ἀπ' ἄλλων
ἔκτοθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν
δι' ὠμὰν ἔριν αἱματηράν.
θεῶν τῶν κατὰ γᾶς ὅδ' ὕμνος.
Conclusion. ἀλλὰ κλύοντες, μάκαρες χθόνιοι,
τῆσδε κατευχῆς πέμπετ' ἀρωγὴν
παισὶν προφρόνως ἐπὶ νίκᾳ.
OP. πάτερ, τρόποισιν οὐ τυραννικοῖς θανών,

470. ἐκὰς. 472. αιωμαναιρειν. 473. τῶν omitted. 476. νίκην.

464—473. It seems probable (Kirchhoff, Wecklein) that this fourth section of the *Commos*, a concluding hymn, is sung by Orestes, Electra, and the Chorus together. This would give a reason why it should not have, like the first three sections, a *triple* as well as a *double* division. The *triplicity* is in the union of the *three* parts.

464. **πόνος ἐγγενὴς** *inbred suffering* of the curse-laden race.

465—466. **παράμουσος.. αἱματόεσσα**: epithets applicable to **πλαγά** *stroke* in two different aspects, *wound* and *beat* (as of time, rhythm, or a musical instrument; cf. **πλῆκτρον**). The combination of the two approaches an equivocation on the word, and is characteristic of Aeschylus.

469. **δώμασιν...ἄκος**: 'the lint-cure of this (hurt) is *in* the house, not to be had from others without, but from (the members of the house) themselves, through a cruel and bloody struggle', *i.e.* Orestes and Electra must shed blood for the blood already shed, with the hope suggested (but without strong confidence) that this blood may be the last.—**ἔμμοτον ἄκος**: properly 'a cure of lint (*μοτός*) *in* the wound'; but note that here, by a certain force put upon the word, **ἐν-** also governs **δώμασιν** and signifies that the cure is to be found *within*.—**ἄκος** Schütz; the MS. **ἐκὰς** is a false correction of **ακες**, produced by the common confusion of **ε** and **ο**.—**δι' ὠμὰν ἔριν** Klausen (**ἔριν** Hermann), putting **Δ** for **Α**, and **ε**, **ι** for the regular mis-spelling of those sounds, a brilliant specimen of technical skill. Note the archaic accusative, where prose use would require a genitive.

473. **τῶν**: restored by Hermann.

474—476: an *Amen* or conclusion to the whole *Commos*, probably by the chorus-leader.

476. **ἐπὶ νίκῃ** (Portus) was probably a fixed form (cf. *inf.* 867, *Eum.* 1010), though **ἐπὶ νίκην** (*to victory*) is grammatically admissible.

477—507. In this passage the *commos*, which has been formally concluded, is *prolonged* (see *v.* 508) by Orestes and Electra only, who have the feeling, there indicated, that they cannot do enough for the neglected dead. For the form of the *prolongation* and the distribution of the parts see App. I. § 13.

αἰτούμενός μοι δὸς κράτος τῶν σῶν δόμων.
ΗΛ. κἀγώ, πάτερ, τοιάνδε σου χρείαν ἔχω,
φυγεῖν μέγαν προσθεῖσαν Αἰγίσθῳ†.
ΟΡ. οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι δαῖτες ἔννομοι βροτῶν
κτιζοίατ'· εἰ δὲ μή, παρ' εὐδείπνοις ἔσει
ἄτιμος ἐμπύροισι κνισωτῆς χθονός.
ΗΛ. κἀγὼ χοάς σοι τῆς ἐμῆς παγκληρίας
οἴσω πατρῴων ἐκ δόμων γαμηλίους·
πάντων δὲ πρῶτον τόνδε πρεσβεύσω τάφον.
ΟΡ. ὦ γαῖ', ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι μάχην.

479. τοιάδεσ·ου. 484. κνισωτοῖσ.

478. **αἰτούμενος**: for the passive (not deponent) sense in the present tense see *Ag.* 150, Pind. *Isthm.* 7. 6, *αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι Μοῖσαν*.—*αἰτουμένῳ* Turn.

479. **τοιάνδε** Turn., *i.e.* a request referring, like that of Orestes, to her natural claim as a daughter.

480. *τυχεῖν με γάμβρου θεῖσαν Αἰγίσθῳ μόρον* Wecklein (taking *μόρον* from Turn. and working out very skilfully the suggestion of Schütz *τυχεῖν γάμων*): 'that I may compass the death of Aegisthus and so be wedded', lit. 'find a bridegroom'. For *γάμβρος* in this sense (Aeolic and Doric) Wecklein refers to Pollux III. 31 and Bekk. *Anecd.* 228, and for the general sense to Soph. *El.* 971 *γάμων ἐπαξίων τεύξῃ*. (In Euripides' *Electra* the whole plot turns on the desire of the murderers to secure that Electra should not give birth to a possible avenger of her father.) Such, at any rate, is the meaning required by the sequel (*v.* 485): it is likely that the verse was deeply injured at an early date. The schol. (*ὥστε φυγεῖν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς Αἰγίσθου τιμωρησάμενον αὐτόν*) assumes a text already corrupted.

481. **σοι...κτιζοίατο**: 'thou wilt be admitted when the living men make feast', lit. 'the feasts of the living will be made so as to include your share'. **σοι...ἔννομοι**: 'awarding to you among the rest'; it seems better to give *ἔννομος* here (see *νέμεσθαι*) this full and special sense, rather than to take it for *customary*; *ἔννομος* commonly means not *customary* but *within the law, permitted*, but in this sense it is not here appropriate.—**βροτῶν**: here opposed to *the dead*, who are no longer *mortal*.

482—483. **ἐμπύροισι** Auratus, *κνισωτᾶς* Bothe, from which I take **κνισωτῆς**: *ἐν πυροῖσι, κνισωτοῖς* M, the latter probably through the mis-spelling *κνισωταῖς*. 'At the sacrificial banquet thou shalt not receive thy due of blood poured upon the ground'. **κνισωτῆς χθονός**: *i.e.* *τῆς κνισώσεως τῆς χθονός*, the pass. adj. being used as the pass. part. in *Theb.* 611, *Ag.* 114. The gen. depends on the privative *ἄτιμος*. The adj. is formed from *κνισόω*, equivalent to *κνισάω*, and the implied phrase *κνισοῦν χθόνα* may be compared with *κνισᾶν ἀγυιάς*. That the dead might share in the feast, blood (or, as we see here, liquid from the cooked meat) was poured upon the ground; cf. Eur. *Tro.* 381, *οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφους ἕσθ' ὅστις αὐτοῖς αἷμα γῇ δωρήσεται* (cited by Wecklein).—To read **κνισωτῆς** appears by far the simplest restoration. The MS. *κνισωτοῖς* is scarcely consistent either with the form of the word or with the arrangement of the sentence. For other suggestions see Wecklein (ed. 1885), Appendix.

ΗΛ. ὦ Περσέφασσα, δὸς δ' ἔτ' εὔμορφον κράτος.
ΟΡ. μέμνησο λουτρῶν οἷς ἐνοσφίσθης, πάτερ,...
ΗΛ. μέμνησο δ' ἀμφίβληστρον ὡς ἐκαίνισας... 490
ΟΡ. πέδαις ἀχαλκεύτοισι θηρευθείς, πάτερ,...
ΗΛ. αἰσχρῶς τε βουλευτοῖσιν ἐν καλύμμασιν.
ΟΡ. ἆρ' ἐξεγείρει τοῖσδ' ὀνείδεσιν, πάτερ;
ΗΛ. ἆρ' ὀρθὸν αἴρεις φίλτατον τὸ σὸν κάρα;

490. ᾧ σ' ἐκαίνισαν. 491. πέδαις δ' ἀχαλκεύτοις ἐθηρεύθης. 493. ὀνείδεσσιν.

488. ἔτι: 'and give him even now his mould and strength'; εὔμορφος, usually applied to the full and shapely form of youth, is here applied to the animated body as contrasted with that mere shadow which the ψυχή was conceived to be. The queen of the dead is implored to work or to permit the miracle of restoring to Agamemnon though long dead (ἔτι) the strength of life. The form of the expression is based on the ancient feeling noticed before (*v.* 283), that without something like a body the power to act in this world is inconceivable.—δ' ἔτ' Hermann, who also suggested δέ γ': but with the right explanation of εὔμορφον κράτος the other is much better, and indeed γε has little point. δέ τ' M.—The erroneous rendering of δὸς κράτος by 'give (to us) victory' has led naturally to the suspicion of εὔμορφον, which is then pointless, and has prevented any satisfactory correction of the reading. There is no difficulty n supplying the dative αὐτῷ, since in ὦ Περσέφασσα the petition of Orestes (ἄνες πατέρα) is virtually repeated.

490—491. I accept with some hesitation Conington's corrections for ᾧ σ' ἐκαίνισαν in *v.* 490 and πέδαις...ἐθηρεύθης in *v.* 491. The objections to the MS. text are (1) the acc. ἀμφίβληστρον with μέμνησο, which, though admissible, has an awkward effect in combination with the ordinary gen. (λουτρῶν) in the parallel clause; (2) the obscurity of ᾧ σ' ἐκαίνισαν, which can scarcely be equivalent to ὃ ἐκαίνισας, and does not seem to bear any natural sense; (3) the want of caesura in *v.* 491. Each of these might be answered singly, for as to ᾧ σ' ἐκαίνισαν, we might plead our imperfect information. But seeing that all of them may be accounted for by the single error ᾧ σ' for ὡς (which would lead to the others), it is better to accept this explanation and to correct accordingly.—ἀμφίβληστρον ὡς ἐκαίνισας: 'the new garment (strange net) that thou didst put on'. The two explanations of ἐκαίνισας (1) that the entangling garment was a strange invention (Sidgwick, Wecklein), and (2) that it was the '*new* robe' worn by Agamemnon on his return (Conington, comparing for the custom the gift of a 'new robe' by Deianira to Heracles in the *Trachiniae*, *v.* 613), are both right. A point is made upon the way in which the happy occasion was used for the murder. In ἀμφίβληστρον there is also a double reference to the senses *wrapping* and *net*; see *Ag.* 1379 foll.

491. πέδαις ἀχαλκεύτοισι: *i.e.* 'a trap for the feet, though not of metal'.

492. αἰσχρῶς βουλευτοῖσιν: *foully devised.*

493. ἐξεγείρει.....ὀνείδεσιν Porson, Robortello.

494. φίλτατον: not exactly *dearest* but rather *most welcome*. In connexion with this context the adj. has a predicative force, and the position therefore is correct. So in Eur. *El.*, μῆτερ, λαβῶμαι μακαρίας τῆς σῆς χερός and in id. *Or.* μακάριός θ' ὁ σὸς πόσις, the adjectives are in effect equivalent to μακαρίας οὔσης, μακάριος ὤν (see the context). *Androm.* 98, στερρόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμονα, is added by

ΟΡ. ἤτοι δίκην ἴαλλε σύμμαχον φίλοις,
ἢ τὰς ὁμοίας ἀντίδος λαβὰς λαβεῖν,
εἴπερ κρατηθείς γ' ἀντινικῆσαι θέλεις.
ΗΛ. καὶ τῆσδ' ἄκουσον λοισθίου βοῆς, πάτερ·
ἰδὼν νεοσσοὺς τούσδ' ἐφημένους τάφῳ
οἴκτειρε θῆλυν ἄρσενός θ' ὁμοῦ γόνον.
ΟΡ. καὶ μὴ 'ξαλείψῃς σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε.
οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανών.
[παῖδες γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κληδόνες σωτήριοι
θανόντι· φελλοὶ δ' ὡς ἄγουσι δίκτυον,
τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστῆρα σῴζοντες λίνου.]

496. βλάβας.

Wecklein; but there the adj. is purely a predicate 'the hardness of my fate'.

496. **λαβὰς** Canter (βλάβας, with the explanation of the schol. ἢ σὺ κόλασον αὐτούς, seems to be a false conjecture): lit. 'or let us get the like grip', a phrase of wrestling, when the combatants, on renewing the contest after a pause, were to be placed as they had been. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 236 B εἰς τὰς ὁμοίας λαβὰς ἐλήλυθας, *Rep.* 544 B τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν πάρεχε. The meaning is 'either aid us actively, or at least remove our disadvantages and give us fair conditions'. For the application of the metaphor see *Ag.* 1376, *inf.* 865.

498. **λοισθίου**: see App. I. § 13.

500. **θῆλυν ἄρσενός θ' ὁμοῦ γόνον**: *thine offspring male and female both*: **ἄρσενος** is a gen. not of origin but of equivalent or description, and replaces the adj. ἄρσενα. Cf. *Ag.* 1620 δεσμῶν... αἵ τε νήστιδες δύαι *the pains of imprisonment and hunger*, Hom. *Il.* 24. 180, θεῖον γένος οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων (cited by Wecklein, who however reads here γόον). The application of such a genitive to γόνος would be confusing and inadmissible, except where, as here, *the context clearly determines that the genitive, when first heard, shall be so understood.* In these conditions there is no objection to it, whatever be the word which follows. I see therefore no reason to suppose an allusion, which would be both obscure and inappropriate, to the doctrine that male offspring was specially the product of the male parent.—The conj. γόον (de Pauw, Bamberger) is plausible, but (1) it would not easily have been changed to γόνον, and (2) the phrase οἴκτειρε γόον does not seem to accord with the use of οἰκτείρω in Aeschylus and the tragedians.

501. **σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε** refers more particularly to himself: see on *v.* 235.

503—505 are probably interpolated. See App. I. § 13.

503. κληδόνος σωτήριοι Schütz; for which, if the passage were genuine, much might be said. But κληδόνες follows the Sophoclean original, and σωτήριοι is merely a stop-gap.

504. **ἄγουσι**: *draw*, sustain the weight of.

505. **τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ** for τὸν ἐν βυθῷ by accommodation to the verb **σῴζοντες**, 'saving from the deep the yarn there engulfed', *i.e.* the net itself. Cf. Soph. *El.* 135, Eur. *Med.* 1117.—**κλωστῆρα λίνου**, *flax-yarn*. Sophocles has the more pointed expression σῴζοντες λίνῳ *saving by the line*, where λίνον is the cord which connects the float with the net, and signifies metaphorically the successive generations (cf. *linea*, lineage). But **λίνου** may be what the interpolator here wrote.

ΗΛ. ἄκου', ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοιάδ' ἔστ' ὀδύρματα,
αὐτὸς δὲ σῴζει τόνδε τιμήσας λόγον.
ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν ἀμεμφῆ τόνδ' ἐτεινάτην λόγον,
τίμημα τύμβου τῆς ἀνοιμώκτου τύχης.
τὰ δ' ἄλλ', ἐπειδὴ δρᾶν κατώρθωσαι φρενί,
ἔρδοις ἂν ἤδη δαίμονος πειρώμενος.
ΟΡ. ἔσται· πυθέσθαι δ' οὐδέν ἐστ' ἔξω δρόμου,
πόθεν χοὰς ἔπεμψεν, ἐκ τίνος λόγου,
μεθύστερον τιμῶσ' ἀνήκεστον πάθος;
θανόντι δ', οὐ φρονοῦντι, δειλαία χάρις
ἐπέμπετ'. οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰκάσαι τόδε.

508. ἀμόμφητον δε τινατὸν. 515. θανοῦντι. 516. τάδε (changed to τόδε).

506. ἄκουε: ἀντὶ τοῦ πείσθητι (rather πείθου) schol. See on *v.* 457.

507—508. τόνδε...λόγον: *the address vv.* 476—507. The poet is thinking of its form as distinct from the choric form of the preceding *commos*.—ἐτεινάτην λόγον is not 'extend this address' but 'make this address by way of extension'. So τήκειν οἰμωγήν *to utter a languishing lament*, κλέπτειν μύθους *to speak deceitfully*; see further Bayfield on Eur. *Ion* 168 αἱμάξεις ᾠδάς. The λόγος is an 'extension' of the γόος. Wecklein proposes to read γόον in *v.* 508, supposing λόγον to be imported, as it easily might be, from *v.* 507. However λόγον is equally appropriate.—ἀμόμφητον δε τινατὸν M, corrected gradually by Canter, Hermann, Blomfield.

509. Both genitives depend on τίμημα '(as) a compensation *to* the tomb *for* its unlamented misfortune', *i.e.* for the misfortune that no dirge has been performed till now.

512. οὐδέν: *by no means, not at all*, cf. *Ag.* 783. The negative belongs to ἔξω δρόμου and is emphasized as a propitiation to the impatient interlocutor.—ἔξω δρόμου: 'out of the course', irrelevant to action.—Note that ἐστι is required and has a slight emphasis, in antithesis to ἔσται. Action *shall* be taken, but something, not immaterial, comes first and now.

513. πόθεν: *why*.

514. τιμῶσα: 'trying to compensate': cf. *v.* 509.

515. θανόντι Abresch.—οὐ φρονοῦντι: *unconscious*. Strictly speaking this language is inconsistent, even to the point of express verbal contradiction, with the proposition (φρόνημα τοῦ θανόντος οὐ δαμάζει πῦρ *v.* 322) upon which depends the meaning and reason of the whole preceding rite. But what is really meant, that no gifts can affect the dead with a pleasure *equivalent* to the life taken away, is perfectly consistent with the foregoing doctrine: and οὐ φρονοῦντι is but an exaggeration of rhetoric. It may be noted however as well showing the vast importance of the context in construing citations from drama, and the danger of building conclusions about 'the doctrines of the poet' upon fragments parted from their accompaniment.—χάρις predicate, with ἐπέμπετο, which is accommodated to it in 'concord'. The true subject is αἱ χοαί.

516. *I cannot guess it, i.e. make out* the motive, τὸ πόθεν ἔπεμψε χοάς. The optative ἔχοιμ' ἄν is somewhat stronger than ἔχω, lit. 'I could not in any case', 'could not possibly'.

τὰ δῶρα μέσῳ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας†.
τὰ πάντα γάρ τις ἐκχέας ἀνθ' αἵματος
ἑνός, μάτην ὁ μόχθος· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος,
θέλοντι δ', εἴπερ οἶσθ', ἐμοὶ φράσον τάδε.
ΧΟ. οἶδ', ὦ τέκνον, παρὴ γάρ. ἔκ τ' ὀνειράτων
καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτων δειμάτων πεπαλμένη
χοὰς ἔπεμψε τάσδε δύσθεος γυνή.
ΟΡ. ἦ καὶ πέπυσθε τοὔνειρ', ὥστ' ὀρθῶς φράσαι;
ΧΟ. τεκεῖν δράκοντ' ἔδοξεν, ὡς αὐτὴ λέγει.
ΟΡ. καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾷ καὶ καρανοῦται λόγος;
ΧΟ. ἐν σπαργάνοισι παιδὸς ὁρμίσαι δίκην.

521. πάρει (ει over erasure, γρ. παρῆς).

517. I have marked the text as corrupt, believing that the true reading has not been found and probably cannot be. By changing μέσῳ to μείω (Turn.) we get what will construe; but the change is unlikely, the position of δέ improper (since there is neither a close connexion between the words τὰ δῶρα μείω, nor any special emphasis to mark), and the ironical understatement out of place. The punctuation δειλαία χάρις ἐπέμπετ' (οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰκάσαι τόδε) τὰ δῶρα, μείω δ' ἐστὶ (Kirchhoff, Wecklein) justifies δέ, but leaves the other objections and makes the period singularly awkward in design. I suspect that the letters αμεσωδεστι contain, with the enclitic τι, the neuter of some adj. in -ης, agreeing with it. The sense should be 'the gifts are out of all proportion to the offence'. It is easy to imagine an adj. which would convey this sense and account for ἁμαρτίας as a gen. of comparison or respect. But the use of τι points to some uncommon expression; and it is more than likely that we have lost all trace of it.—τὰ...τῆς: the articles are correlative and accent the antithesis.

518—519. For the anacoluthon cf. *Theb.* 668 ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ὧδ' αὐτόκτονος, οὗκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος. 'It might perhaps be called the *provisional nominative*, the sentence taking ultimately a different turn' (Sidgwick).—ἀνθ' αἵματος ἑνός: 'as compensation for blood (life) alone', 'the one thing life'. πάντα and ἑνός are antithetic, as two sides of a reckoning. (Not 'the blood of one life', as Conington.)—Note the point made upon ἐκχέας, which with πάντα has the metaphorical sense of *lavish*, *spend*, but in reference to αἷμα the literal sense of *spill*.

521. παρῆ Porson.—ἔκ τ' ὀνειράτων κτλ.: *i.e.* ἐξ ὀνειράτων τε καὶ...δειμάτων 'in consequence of a dream so terrible that it broke her rest'. The sentence has no copula and of course requires none, being an expansion of οἶδα. τε... καί mark a climax; 'she dreamed and even woke with the terror of it'.

526. καὶ ποῖ; This order of words usually marks an objection, the order in a simple interrogative for further information being ποῖ καί, πῶς καί, etc. (Porson on Eur. *Phoen.* 1373). But the form of an objection is extended also, not unnaturally, to a question which has the tone of impatience (cf. καὶ πότε; in *v.* 393). The phrase ὡς αὐτὴ λέγει suggests to Orestes the fear of a long *commérage* upon the topic of the imaginary birth, and he presses the narrator for the *sum and point* of the matter.

527. ὁρμίσαι: '(she said that) she bound it' etc. ὁρμίζω, as used here, is connected with ὅρμος in the sense of

ΟΡ. τίνος βορᾶς χρῄζοντα, νεογενὲς δάκος;
ΧΟ. αὐτὴ προσέσχε μαζὸν ἐν τωνείρατι.
ΟΡ. καὶ πῶς ἄτρωτον οὖθαρ ἦν ὑπὸ στυγός; 530
ΧΟ. ὥστ' ἐν γάλακτι θρόμβον αἵματος σπάσαι.

528. νεορενὲς. 529. ἐν τ' ὀνείρατι. 530. οὐχαρὴν ὑποστύγος.

necklace, *collar*, *wreath* etc., not in the sense of *haven*; so we need not suppose any metaphor. The word was specially applicable to the putting of the σπάργανα on a child, since *the necklace* was the most important of the σπάργανα, which included not only the necessary swathings, but also and more particularly the objects attached to the child for recognition. The explanation ὅρμισον· δῆσον, ἀνάπαυσον (Hesychius) is partly taken from some similar passage, and we may suppose that the word had once a fixed connexion with this usage. Abresch (and Con.) citing Hesychius, cite also Aelian *de Anim.* 2. 1 τὰ μέγιστα πελάγη περαιουμένας ταρσῷ τῶν πτέρων οὔτε ὁρμίζεσθαί που οὔτε ἀναπαύεσθαι. But this is from the other ὅρμος (*haven*), and the same comparison appears in Hesychius' ἀνάπαυσον: his first gloss, δῆσον, is approximately right for this place. The schol. ὡς παῖδα αὐτὸν ἐκτεῖναι ἐδόκει ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις is right as to the meaning of ὁρμίσαι, but not exactly as to the construction. The infinitive is that of oblique oration and depends on λέγει (*she told us*), supplied from λόγος.

528—531. Orestes catches at the reference to himself, and leads up to the expected confirmation.

528. τίνος Wellauer; τινὸς M.—νεογενὲς Turnebus. I print this as a stopgap, though I think it more probable that νεορενὲς covers some unknown word more significant and more appropriate to the context.

529. μαζὸν: Homeric form (Attic μαστόν) probably preferred here for some literary association with the story. Conington and many others rightly retain it.

530. 'But then the teat could not but be poisoned'. See on *v.* 524.—ἄτρωτον: perhaps ἄχρωτον or ἄχρωστον: see App. I. § 14.—ὑπὸ στυγός. It is certainly improbable that, as was formerly supposed, στύξ should be here a synonym of στύγος *horror*, *horrible thing*, and signify the snake itself. But it does not seem unnatural that a word which properly meant *chill* (see L. and Sc. *s.v.*) should describe the *bite* or *venom* of the snake, from its numbing effect (cf. δράκοντα δύσχιμον *Theb.* 490 and note there). Schütz conjectured ὑπὸ στύγους, which derives some slight support from the accentuation (ὑποστύγος) of M, and has been adopted in several texts. But ὑπὸ στύγους, adding nothing to the sense, is somewhat flat, whereas ὑπὸ στυγός in the sense proposed is pointed and appropriate, particularly if ἄχρωτον *untouched*, *unharmed* (not ἄτρωτον) be the original. See also next note.

531. 'The teat was unhurt by the poison only because with the milk the snake sucked out the clotted blood'. ὥστε: literally 'so far as that': the snake bit, and injected its poison, which produced the natural effect of clotting the blood; but as the blood injected was drawn out by the sucking, there was no other effect: *to this extent* the teat escaped hurt. The interpretation of *v.* 530 above suggested will not only allow a more precise sense here to θρόμβον αἵματος, but also makes the form of the reply natural instead of artificial. *Prima facie* ὥστε should be correlative to πῶς: but if *v.* 530 means 'How did the teat escape *a bite*?' then since it clearly did not escape, the form of the answer must be explained

ΟΡ. οὗτοι μάταιον· ἀνδρὸς ὄψανον πέλει.
ΧΟ. ἡ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου κέκλαγγεν ἐπτοημένη.
πολλοὶ δ' ἀνῆλθον ἐκτυφλωθέντες σκότῳ
λαμπτῆρες ἐν δόμοισι δεσποίνης χάριν· 535

532 has a χ prefixed. 533. κέκλαγεν.

(with Conington) as "an idiomatic way of qualifying an assertion till it becomes a negation; it was so unwounded as to be wounded".—For **θρόμβον** cf. L. and Sc. *s.v.* *θρομβόομαι*, *θρομβώδης* etc. In Soph. *Trach.* 702 *θρομβώδεις ἀφροί* is applied to the exudation of the wool which had been steeped in the poisoned blood of Nessus.

532. 'There cannot be mistake; the vision refers to a man', lit. 'is about a man': *ἀνήρ* here means a human being, in prose *ἄνθρωπος*. This point, that the beast of the dream represented an actual person (*viz.* Orestes), was exactly that which Clytaemnestra and her advisers, interpreting metaphorically, had missed; see on *vv.* 37—41. Orestes infers it from the persistence of the analogy in the birth, the swathing, and the suckling.—**οὗτοι μάταιον**: lit. 'it is not for nothing'; the indications of the inference drawn are too full and consistent to be illusory.—**ἀνδρὸς ...πέλει**: *i.e.* *τὸ ὄψανον πέλει ὄψανον ἀνδρός*. For the genitive cf. *ἀγγελία τινός* 'message *about* a person' etc.—"*ἀνδρός* is to be explained after Heath as opposed to *θηρίου*" Conington. It will be seen, I think, that this is right, when the verse is punctuated correctly, as above. Taken as one sentence, it has no clear or satisfactory sense; but only the stopping is wrong.—A schol., followed by some, explains *ἀνδρὸς ὄψανον* as 'the dream from her husband'; but we are nowhere told, nor can we naturally imagine, that the dream was sent by Agamemnon, or that he had power to send it; nor is this idea intelligibly conveyed by the words. The dream was sent, we should suppose, by the gods, and particularly by Earth and Apollo, the gods of Delphi.—I would cancel the remarks on *ὄψανον* in App. F of my edition of the *Agamemnon*, so far at least as they relate to this passage, which, as I now think, does not support them.

533. **κέκλαγγεν** (H. L. Ahrens) seems better warranted by the MS. than *κέκραγεν* (Robortello).

534. 'And in the dark house the eye of many a blinded lamp was opened'. **ἀνῆλθον**: *ἀνέβλεψαν*, *recovered sight*, lit. 'became well, were cured' of their blindness. This correspondence of metaphor indicates that **ἀνῆλθον** is correct. The stem of the verb is not *ἐλθ-* (which gives no appropriate sense) but *ἀλθ-*, whence come *ἄλθος healing*, *ἀλθαίνω to heal*, etc. There is apparently no other example of an intransitive verb from this very rare stem; but it is quite regular and likely to have existed, side by side with the transitive forms, or (as in the case of *φλέγω*) as an alternative use of the same forms. So we have from the stem *ἀλδ-* the exceptional intransitive *ἀλδήσκω*.—To *ἀνῆθον*, the plausible and commonly accepted conjecture of Valcknaer, the tense (as I think) is an objection. The main effect of the picture depends on the rapidity of the transition from darkness to light, which is impaired by the imperfect. Moreover the strong metaphor in *ἐκτυφλωθέντες* requires the support of some cognate word. The gloss *ἀνέλαμψαν* (schol.) proves nothing; it was not written upon *ἀνῆθον* but upon *ἀνῆλθον* itself, and is merely a rude attempt to force a sense out of the meaning *rose*, based perhaps on recollection of such a phrase as *ἀνῆλθεν ἥλιος*.—**σκότῳ**: constr. with *ἐκτυφλωθέντες*, 'blinded with darkness'.

πέμπει τ' ἔπειτα τάσδε κηδείους χοάς,
ἄκος τομαῖον ἐλπίσασα πημάτων.
ΟΡ. ἀλλ' εὔχομαι γῇ τῇδε καὶ πατρὸς τάφῳ
τοὔνειρον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ τελεσφόρον.
κρίνω δέ τοί νιν ὥστε συσκόλως ἔχειν. 540
εἰ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον ἐκλιπὼν ἐμοὶ
οὐφεῖς επᾶσα σπαργανηπλείζετο†
καὶ μασθὸν ἀμφέχασκ' ἐμὸν θρεπτήριον,
θρόμβῳ δ' ἔμιξεν αἵματος φίλον γάλα,
ἥ δ' ἀμφὶ τάρβει τῷδ' ἐπώμωξεν πάθει, 545
δεῖ τοί νιν, ὡς ἔθρεψεν ἔκπαγλον τέρας,
θανεῖν βιαίως· ἐκδρακοντωθεὶς δ' ἐγὼ

541. ἐκλειπων. 545. ἀμφιταρβίτωδ'.

537. **ἄκος τομαῖον**: *θεράπευμα τμητικόν* schol., 'a remedy by *τομή*, *cutting*, *surgery*', *i.e.* violent and decisive. The fears of Clytaemnestra made her take a desperate course.—Note that these verses are full of reminiscences from the *Agamemnon*, recalling the night-alarm of the opening scene, the fires of sacrifice lighted at Clytaemnestra's command, the 'surgery' of Agamemnon (*ib.* 840), the disused **λαμπτῆρες** of his chamber (*ib.* 801) etc. All this materially helps the suggestion, that the wheel of fortune has now come round, and vengeance is ready.

540. **συσκόλως** (or **συσσκόλως**). This is commonly changed (after Victorius) to *συγκόλλως*, a conjecture already indicated in M by a second λ written above. But **συσκόλως** is presumably right. The stem is that of *σκολιός*, *having crooks* or *bends*, which implies an ancient substantive (*σκόλος*? *σκολή*?) a *crook* or *bend*. Hence *σύσκολος* signifies *crooked* or *bending conformably*, and **συσκόλως ἔχειν** is *to conform at all points*, to agree like the two parts of a wooden *tally*, *divided by a line capriciously indented for the purpose of recognition*. This metaphor is much more appropriate than that of adherence (*κόλλη glue*), and ought not to be rejected. The schol. *συνημμένως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, probably a mere guess from the context, fits either word.

541. **ἐκλιπὼν** Blomfield.

542. **οὐφεῖς** Porson. No convincing restoration has been proposed for the rest of the line: *ἐπ' ἀμὰ σπάργαν'* Klausen, *ἠλελίζετο* Metzger, which are adopted by Wecklein, with the variation *ἐφ' ἁμὰ* (should it not be *ἐς ἁμά*, *wound itself into*?): this gives a suitable sense, and so (but with improbable changes) does the reading of Turnebus, *ἐμοῖσι σπαργάνοις ὠπλίζετο*. But it seems likely that the verse contained words, of which we have no other trace.

543. **μασθόν**: *μαστόν* (the common form) Blomfield. If we have, which is doubtful, the right to decide such questions, it is preferable to replace here *μαζόν*, in conformity with *v.* 529.—**ἐμὸν θρεπτήριον** together, lit. 'the feeding-place of me'.

545. **ἀμφὶ τάρβει** (Porson); cf. *ἀμφὶ φόβῳ*, *in fear*, Eur. *Or.* 825.

546. "The meaning plainly is that 'to dream of giving suck to a monster means violent death'; the snake is to reach her breast" (Sidgwick). **ὡς ἔθρεψεν**: 'in accordance with the fact that she suckled', lit. 'as' or 'since she suckled'.

547. **ἐκδρακοντωθείς**: 'turned into a serpent', *i.e.* deadly as a serpent (*ἀγριω-*

κτείνω νιν, ὡς τοὔνειρον ἐννέπει τόδε.
ΧΟ. τερασκόπον δὴ τῶνδέ σ' αἱροῦμαι πέρι.
γένοιτο δ' οὕτως· τἄλλα δ' ἐξηγοῦ φίλοις, 550
τοὺς δ' ἔν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μή τι δρᾶν λέγων—
ΟΡ. ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος· τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω,

549. δὲ. 552. στίχειν.

θείς κατ' αὐτῆς schol.); but the full application of the dream, and the serpent-symbol, to Orestes and his enterprise appears only when his plan is carried out; see on *vv.* 39—41, 925—927.

548. **κτείνω νιν**: *am her slayer, i.e.* the dream now determines that she will fall by my hand. Cf. the prophetic present ἀγρεῖ in *Ag.* 131.

549. **δή** *then* (Kirchhoff) is a necessary correction, if we commence here the speech of the Chorus. This is in accordance with the MS., which marks a change of speaker at *v.* 549; and further, if this verse is attached (as by some editors) to the speech of Orestes, **δέ** in *v.* 550 is out of place.—**αἱροῦμαι** *choose, prefer* (not simply *accept*). The comparison implied is between Orestes' interpretation and that given by the ὀνειροκρίται of Clytaemnestra; see on *vv.* 39—41.—**τεράσκοπον δή**. The particle signifies 'since there *are* two possible interpretations, and it is a matter of choice'.

551: 'And, giving each his particular injunction, positive or negative—'. If this reading is correct, the sentence is interrupted by Orestes, and the main verb (τὸ πρᾶγμα ὄρθωσον *put us in the proper course*, or the like) would have followed. The commencement of Orestes **ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος** (*the directions are simple*) is in favour of this, since it naturally implies a previous demand for more particularity of detail than the speaker sees occasion for; and with this the slight impatience, indicated by the interruption, well accords. It also fits well with the excitement shown, as will be seen, throughout the speech. **τοὺς...τοὺς δὲ** will then stand for τοὺς μὲν...τοὺς δὲ: for the frequent omission of μέν in poetry see Kühner *Gr. Gramm.* § 531, 3. The pronouns do not refer to specified persons or parties, but simply mean *some* and *others*.—τοὺς μέν τι Stanley. This tempting correction at once makes the sentence complete in itself and restores the normal μέν. On the other hand it is, I think, hard to see why or how it should have been altered to what we find: and I suggest that (supposing an interruption) the MS. reading is really better and more expressive.—The suggestion to read τούσδ' ἔν τι must certainly be rejected: the definite **τούσδε** is inappropriate.

552. **τήνδε...ἐμάς**: 'my sister must go home, with the charge to prevent discovery of the plot I am about to disclose'. —**τήνδε μὲν**. There is no formal antithesis to this μέν: practically the antithesis is given in *vv.* 558 foll., which describe what Orestes and his companions will do on their part.—**στείχειν** (or. obl. for στειχέτω) depends on the notion of command (λέγω) implied in μῦθος. This is, I think, a truer analysis than to say that **αἰνῶ** is anticipated.—**αἰνῶ...ἐμάς** would in later style be represented by a subordinate phrase, as in the English.—**κρύπτειν**: not only by guarding her own behaviour, but also (see *v.* 577) by watching what occurs and preventing, if possible, anything likely to lead to premature disclosure or frustration.—**τάσδε**: *the following*, explained in *v.* 558, where the explanation is introduced, as often, by γάρ.—A possible alternative, which has much support, is to refer τάσδε to the chorus, αἰνῶ τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω, τάσδε

αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμάς·
ὡς ἄν, δόλῳ κτείναντες ἄνδρα τίμιον
δόλῳ τε, καὶ ληφθῶσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ βρόχῳ
θανόντες, ἥ καὶ Λοξίας ἐφήμισεν,
ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, μάντις ἀψευδὴς τὸ πρίν.
ξένῳ γὰρ εἰκώς, παντελῆ σάγην ἔχων,
ἥξω σὺν ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐφ' ἑρκείους πύλας
Πυλάδῃ, ξένος τε καὶ δορύξενος δόμων.

554. κτείναντας. 559. ἑφερκίους.

δὲ κρύπτειν κτλ. Grammatically this is unobjectionable, and any obscurity arising from the juxtaposition of τάσδε and συνθήκας might on the stage be removed by the action. The objections are (1) that στείχειν ἔσω seems, especially in view of *v.* 577, to be a strangely curt description of Electra's part, (2) that there is no natural antithesis between στείχειν ἔσω and κρύπτειν συνθήκας, (3) that Orestes, replying to the chorus, would naturally designate them by the second person, not the third, and (4) that in order to prevent the hearer from referring αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν to Electra, the antithetic pronoun should have been placed earlier in the sentence.

554. *That as by plot and plot they wrought the death of a noble prince, so they may be caught and perish in the same snare, according to Apollo's prophecy.* The assignment of posts and functions (Electra and the maidservants at the house, Orestes coming from without) reminds Orestes that, according to the instructions given at Delphi, there was to be a likeness between the crime and the vengeance. The analogy intended is close and obvious, since Agamemnon fell by a similar combination of parts, Clytaemnestra and her supporters (the Second Chorus of the *Agamemnon*) at the house, and her other partizans (the king's escort) coming from without, the combination of which Aegisthus boasts himself the designer in his oration (*Ag.* 1605). See the *Agamemnon*, Introduction and *passim*.—δόλῳ...δόλῳ τε: *by plot and plot, i.e.* by conjunction of plots. The words are separated purposely, in order that δόλῳ τε, which gives the point, may receive special emphasis.—καὶ *also*.—ληφθῶσιν.....θανόντες: the participle and verb represent coincident facts, or rather two aspects of the same fact, capture in a trap which kills. Cf. *vv.* 395, 457.—For the previous treatment of this passage see Appendix I. § 15.

558. παντελῆ σάγην ἔχων: *completely equipped* for the assumed part of a traveller (ξένος). See on *v.* 709.

559. ἐφ' ἑρκείους Turnebus.—The ἑρκειοι πύλαι here and hereafter signify and distinguish the outer gate of the castle, the 'gate of the wall', as opposed to the entrances of the various buildings within the precinct, two of which are represented in the subsequent scene. See the Introduction.

560. Πυλάδῃ. This name of course conveys nothing to Electra and the rest, who neither in this scene nor elsewhere show any knowledge of Orestes' history. The reason why Orestes mentions the name of his apparently unimportant subordinate is curiously characteristic of Greek feeling, and especially of Aeschylus. So far as I am aware, it has not been observed, and there has been much debate in consequence over the verse. The words ἐφ' ἑρκείους πύλας suggest that the appellation of his friend, implying familiarity with *gates*, is apt and 'of good omen' for a plot, in which the first step

ἄμφω δὲ φωνὴν οἴσομεν Παρνησσίδα,

will be to win admission at a closed and guarded portal: and for this reason only he cites it, indicating the point by the juxtaposition of *πύλας* Πυλάδῃ, and by the tone. From what precedes (*v.* 556) we may fairly infer that this application of the name had even received the very highest 'mantic' sanction. Examples of such attention to 'omens' are too numerous to be quoted; see *e.g.* the *Seven against Thebes* (*vv.* 362—660). We may suppose that, but for this circumstance, Orestes would have allowed Pylades to remain, as he has remained until now, without any notice. Electra, to whom he is merely an attendant or follower of her brother, was not likely to take interest in him, or to ask any questions about him. This point is not unimportant, because it has been argued that Orestes here puts forward Pylades as the *sole* companion of his enterprise: and on this ground the text and the plot (see *v.* 709) have been subjected to injurious alteration. But there is nothing said here about the number of Orestes' company, which for his declared purpose must be large. He notices Pylades partly because he is there, but mainly in order to cite, for the encouragement of the others, the significance attributed by Apollo to his title.—It does not seem likely that Pylades has been visible to the audience during the preceding scene, nor perhaps is he at this moment. It is enough that he is now, if not before, supposed to be so placed that Orestes can point him out to Electra and the rest.—**ξένος**...**δόμων**: 'a *ξένος*, yes and a *δορύξενος* to the house'. These words, of which no real translation is possible, convey a sort of play upon the words *ξένος* and *δορύξενος*, much in the spirit of the interpretation put upon *Pylades*. *Spear-friend* or *war-friend* properly means one bound to another by soldiers' union, a closer bond than ordinary friendship. Orestes has said that he will come to the castle 'like a *ξένος*', meaning simply 'disguised as a *traveller seeking entertainment*'. Here he adds that, if admitted in this character, he will prove 'a very *δορύξενος*', or 'fighting traveller', that is to say, in plain words he and the rest will be armed and ready for fight.—There is no allusion here to Strophius or his relation of *δορύξενος* to the house of Agamemnon. As will be seen in the sequel, Orestes, in his character as traveller, does not pretend to have any claim, direct or indirect, on the house of Clytaemnestra, other than that of an obliging messenger. Even Strophius is known to him, as he alleges, only by an accidental meeting on the road. However neither this nor any detailed scheme is yet present to his mind. The sketch of his project here given (*v.* 563) differs widely from what is eventually executed, and is indeed little better than a rhodomontade, flung off under the excitement of the foregoing ceremony. This discrepancy has been made a ground sometimes of censure upon the poet, sometimes of textual speculation; but I cannot see the matter in this light. It seems to me perfectly natural that Orestes at this moment should talk of his purpose in a way which shows much more spirit than sense; and equally natural that, several hours later, his performance should show the effects of deliberation.

561. **ἄμφω**. Stress is laid upon this by those who maintain, in spite of the sequel, that Orestes and Pylades can have no assistants. But surely this is a most unreasonable severity of construction. The sole point of the sentence is, that in the performance of the plot the dialect spoken will be Phocian. Orestes mentions himself and Pylades as speakers, simply because, as he knows, they, being the principal persons, are likely to have something to say. As a matter of fact the whole business of speaking, so far as we

γλώσσης ἀυτὴν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω.
καὶ δὴ θυρωρῶν οὔ τις ἂν φαιδρᾷ φρενὶ
δέξαιτ', ἐπειδὴ δαιμονᾷ δόμος κακοῖς·
μενοῦμεν οὕτως ὥστ' ἐπεικάζειν τινὰ 565

564. λέξαιτ'.

observe it, falls upon Orestes only; and in this very sentence it is evident that he rather intends and expects this, for he goes on to say that the speakers will *imitate* the tongue of Parnassus. This is appropriate to himself, but not (as has often been pointed out) to Pylades, who spoke it as his native language. Orestes uses this expression because it is really himself and not Pylades whom he figures as the speaker. If it were his purpose here to give an exact and full account of the intended proceedings, the inference based on ἄμφω might be warranted. But he is so far from intending this, that he has no very true or clear conception of them himself; and his anticipations, so far as they go, are chiefly wrong. As to the whole number of the party nothing is said or suggested until *v.* 582. The circumstances (as we have already said, and as will appear more fully hereafter) show that the number must necessarily be considerable.

οἴσομεν, if correct, must mean 'we shall bring the speech of Parnassus', the language adopted for the purpose of deceit being compared to a weapon or instrument which might be carried. I think this possible; but ἥσομεν (Turn.), *we shall utter*, is perhaps more likely to be right.—Conington defends οἴσομεν by the analogy of *inf.* 579.

562. ἀυτὴν. This word, which with its cognate ἀυτῶ signifies regularly a loud or shrill sound, a *cry*, or *shriek*, is probably here intended to mark some known peculiarity of pitch or intonation in Phocian speech. It is not however likely that the actor, in the subsequent scene, really imitated this. Such imitation would scarcely be consistent with the fact that no attempt is made to represent the dialect. The treatment is conventional, and these details are left, like much else, to the imagination. "It is not really a greater violation of dramatic illusion to bid the audience suppose that Orestes talks like a Phocian, than to tell them that the οἰκέτης (*v.* 874) talks like a servant", Conington.

563. καὶ δή "dramatic particles, literally meaning 'and there', 'there now!', 'now then', etc., used idiomatically when a case is put or supposed....So καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι *Eum.* 895, Eur. *Med.* 386, *Hel.* 1059" (Sidgwick). These particles are normally followed by the indicative perfect. The opt. here indicates that the case is likely to happen. "The expression may be regarded as a condensed one for καὶ δὴ οὔτις δέδεκται (οὐ γὰρ δέξαιτ' ἄν, ἐπεὶ κτλ.)· μενοῦμεν." (Peile, Conington.)

564. δέξαιτο Turnebus. — δαιμονᾷ properly 'is possessed', here 'preternaturally confounded and distracted', by the events of the morning and the general suspicion and jealousy of the tyrants.

565. *So that some passer-by shall point conjecture at the house, saying* etc. ἐπεικάζειν δόμοις lit. 'conjecture at the house' or 'upon the house', a phrase modelled upon the common ἐπιβάλλειν τινί, ἐφιέναι, etc. The uncomplimentary conjecture of the beholder, upon the motive of the inhospitable exclusion, is likened as it were to a missile. This is the only sense which the text admits, and it is (in my judgment) both natural and expressive. —If δόμοις be joined to παραστείχοντα, the correction δόμους (Boissonade) appears necessary, notwithstanding Conington's defence of the dative. But the change is

δόμοις παραστείχοντα καὶ τάδ' ἐννέπειν·
τί δὴ πύλῃσι τὸν ἱκέτην ἀπείργεται
Αἴγισθος, εἴπερ οἶδεν ἔνδημος παρών;
εἰ δ' οὖν ἀμείψω βαλὸν ἑρκείων πυλῶν
κἀκεῖνον ἐν θρόνοισιν εὑρήσω πατρός, 570
ἢ καὶ μολὼν ἔπειτά μοι κατὰ στόμα
ἐρεῖ—σάφ' ἴσθι καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς βαλεῖν—

566. παραστίχοντα. 569. ἕρκειον.

needless and injurious, for whereas ἐπικάζειν, placed as it is, almost demands an explanatory object, δόμους is superfluous and therefore not well placed.—παραστείχοντα Victorius. It may be remarked that this whole scheme of obtaining entrance is very injudiciously conceived, not to say absurdly: and it is fortunate for the success of the plan that Orestes, before the execution, is provided with a more rational and promising method. In all that follows, down to *v.* 576, he speaks wildly, as it seems to me, or to use a plain word, 'rants'. But I am very far from thinking this a defect. He is still under the influence of the passions which, in the preceding scene, have almost carried him out of himself (*v.* 433 foll.). He is a brave man, but at the same time furiously sensitive; and his nerves are strung almost to breaking point. For the sake of the *finale* it is important that we should be made to feel this. Nothing is more remarkable, in the character-drawing of the play, than the contrast between the Orestes of this tirade and the cool, masterly performer of the next scene.

567. πύλῃσι: probably an instrumental dative (Wordsworth, Paley), cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 420 ἦν δ' ἀποκλήῃ τῇ θύρᾳ, *Vesp.* 775 ἀποκλῄσει τῇ κιγκλίδι.—It is not safe to substitute the normal form πύλαισι (Blomfield). The word is just of that familiar kind, in which an archaic form may well have been long retained, and used occasionally or in certain connexions (for reasons which we have no means of judging) when it was no longer regular. So the locative Ἀθήνῃσι held its ground even in the fully developed language of prose. The language of tragedy abounds with irregularities (such as the Doric βαλός, *v.* 569) of which the historical explanation is wholly unknown to us; and in all such matters we ought, as I think, to accept from tradition anything not manifestly impossible. We gain nothing by a change, and may be only obscuring a valuable bit of evidence.

569. ἑρκείων Stanley.

570. The 'throne' here meant is a throne in the open air, before the doors of the palace proper, but of course within the ἕρκος or wall of the fortress and the ἕρκειαι πύλαι. It is the same in fact as the σεμνοὶ θᾶκοι of *Ag.* 524. Orestes supposes the porter to be shamed by the taunts of the passer-by into admitting him at the gate, whereupon he finds Aegisthus seated before his palace, or, if not, sends for him.

571. μολὼν ἔπειτα: *arriving afterwards*, *i.e.* 'after my coming.' ἔπειτα marks the antithesis to the previous supposition, that Orestes, on entering the place of audience, should find Aegisthus already there.—κατὰ στόμα, with μολών, *face to face*.

572. Literally, 'if he shall say (he will be sure to drop his eyes as he speaks) —before he can say *Whence comes the stranger?*, I will strike him dead' etc. If the sentence had proceeded regularly, the question (ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος) would have

πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος; νεκρὸν
θήσω ποδώκει περιβαλὼν χαλκεύματι.
φόνου δ' Ἐρινὺς οὐχ ὑπεσπανισμένη 575
ἄκρατον αἷμα πίεται τρίτην πόσιν.
σὺν οὖν σὺ μὲν φύλασσε τἀν οἴκῳ καλῶς,

depended directly upon ἐρεῖ: but after the parenthesis the arrangement is slightly changed, in order (for a reason explained below) to bring ποδαπὸς κτλ. nearer to the following verse.—καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς βαλεῖν. Here καί is *also*: he will *accompany* his question with a lowering of his eyes.—κατὰ...βαλεῖν (*i.e.* καταβαλεῖν): the infinitive (or participle) is regular with the imperative ἴσθι.—The perplexity of this passage has arisen from the ancient but mistaken conjecture βαλεῖ (Robortello), which makes a text not translatable without further change. The explanation given above is that of Davies, except that, embarrassed by βαλεῖ, he proposes for καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς βαλεῖ the inadmissible and pointless rendering 'and shall cast his eyes down *upon me*'. The text requires only a correct punctuation. Most of the recent editors adopt (with βαλεῖ) ἀρεῖ (Bamberger) for ἐρεῖ, translating 'if he shall raise his eyes and drop them again, as he certainly will'. But surely this cannot be got from the text supposed: σάφ' ἴσθι is then in the wrong place, and throws the stress not on καταβαλεῖ but on ἀρεῖ. Nor is ἀρεῖ relevant; it is the falling of the coward's eyes before those of Orestes, which will give him, as he scornfully says, the opportunity to strike.

573. αὐτὸν: *he himself*. This pronoun, as I have frequently observed, is scarcely ever used by Aeschylus, unless an emphasis is intended. This might easily appear to be an exception, but is not. The difference between πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν and πρὶν νιν εἰπεῖν or πρὶν εἰπεῖν (with pronoun supplied) is precisely the same as the difference in English between 'I struck him dead in the middle of his sentence' and 'in the middle of *his own* sentence', a distinction not easy to analyze but, in a familiar language, easy to perceive.

574. ποδώκει περιβαλὼν χαλκεύματι. See App. I. § 16.

575—576. Another reminiscence from the *Agamemnon* (*vv.* 1105 foll., 1185 foll.). The 'three draughts' of the Erinnys are the Thyestean feast, the murder of Agamemnon, and the coming revenge; see the passages cited. For the custom of the three libations, the third to Zeus Σωτήρ, see *Ag.* 257, 1386, where Clytaemnestra calls her third stab Ἅιδου, νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος, εὐκταίαν χάριν. Mr Sidgwick observes the omission of any distinct reference to the death of Clytaemnestra. It is natural that Orestes, though his resolve to kill his mother, as well as her paramour, is formed and declared (*vv.* 434, 548), should avoid the subject, when it is not thrust upon him, and dwell rather on the revenge which suggests no scruple.

577. σὺν οὖν (σὺν' οὖν M, with ν' erased): *Together then* etc. The preposition, or rather adverb, is right, and should not be changed (with Blomfield) to νῦν. It signifies *in union, unitedly*, and belongs in construction to all the clauses following, in which the parts of the confederates in the *complot* (συνθῆκαι *v.* 553) are briefly recapitulated. This co-operation is the theme of the speech; and the summary of it therefore begins properly and effectively with the characteristic word. For illustrations see the indices to this play and to the *Agamemnon*, *Preposition as adverb*.

σὺ: Electra. We are prepared, by this special assignment to her of 'the

ὅπως ἂν ἀρτίκολλα συμβαίνῃ τάδε,
ὑμῖν δ' ἐπαινῶ γλῶσσαν εὔφημον φέρειν
σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια, 580
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτῳ δεῦρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι λέγω
ξιφηφόρους ἀγῶνας ὀρθώσαντί μοι.—End of Act I.

interior', for the fact, required by the stage-economy of the play, that she does not appear again. And in truth, according to Greek habits, it would not have been possible for a young woman of dignity to quit her rooms, except by leave, without exciting remark and suspicion (see Soph. *El.* 328, 526).

579. **εὔφημον**: here used without any reference to the religious associations commonly connected with it: 'to bring a tongue well guarded, both for silence, where fitting, and for saying the word in season'. The infinitives *σιγᾶν* and *λέγειν* are explanatory, and depend on *εὔφημον*.

581. **τούτῳ** is variously referred (1) to Hermes or Apollo, supposed to be represented by a statue in the scene, (2) to Agamemnon (Wecklein), (3) to Pylades. It is perhaps not possible to decide with certainty upon the existing evidence, but I agree with the schol., Hermann, Davies, and others, that considering the context (3) is the natural supposition. The subject of the whole speech is the distribution of parts among the confederates present; we expect therefore that Pylades will be mentioned here in the conclusion, and should not expect an unexplained reference to someone else. The reason, which has led some critics to reject the *prima facie* interpretation, is that, according to our common notions of Pylades, his part in the affair should be more active than is indicated by *ἐποπτεῦσαι*. But this (see the Introduction) is a misconception. With Aeschylus the part of Pylades is much rather *to see done* than *to do*; nor does it in fact appear that in the murders he takes any other part. 'And for the rest, my companion, when I have arranged for the contest of arms, will come here to see (the execution)'.—**δεῦρο** does not imply that the supposed scene of the following transactions is exactly the same as the present, the place of the grave. In comparison with the undefined place, to which Orestes retires for preparation, the castle and neighbourhood is all 'here'.

582. **ξιφηφόρους ἀγῶνας**. We need not confine this expression, nor is it natural, to the mere killing of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra. Aeschylus has by no means forgotten the armed force by which, as we see from the close of the *Agamemnon*, the tyrants are defended and maintained. On the contrary he is careful to account for the absence of the soldiers at the critical moment (*v.* 762 foll.). Plainly therefore we are to suppose that some arrangement for dealing with them is part of Orestes' plan; and we may assume that in narratives (such as that of Stesichorus) this part had been fully set forth. But in this play it is thrown, as the frame of the piece and necessities of the stage require, altogether into the background; and the audience, by this vague reference, have leave to fill up the story as they please.—Construct thus: *ἐποπτεῦσαί μοι ἀγῶνας ὀρθώσαντι* (*αὐτούς*) 'to watch my battle when I have properly arranged it'. It is possible also to refer *ὀρθώσαντι* to *τούτῳ*: but I think this less natural, both from the arrangement of the words and from the general treatment of Pylades in the scene.—*ὀρθώσοντι* Pearson, Wecklein; but this change need not be considered if we refer *τούτῳ* to Pylades.—*Exeunt* Electra, as if to the castle, Orestes and Pylades to-

ΧΟ. πολλὰ μὲν γᾶ τρέφει στρ. α'.
δεινὰ [καὶ] δειμάτων ἄχη·
πόντιαί τ' ἀγκάλαι κνωδάλων
ἀνταίων βροτοῖσι

583. γὰρ.

gether, as if to make their preparations. As to the Chorus, see note at *v.* 649.

583. The ode, which follows, covers a large interval of time, from the morning to the evening of the day, which is the natural hour for the plan (*v.* 656). It is plain that the preparations alluded to in the preceding verses could not be hastily made; and the poet has in fact given as much time as he conveniently could. The ode itself is carefully adapted to its function as a mere symbolic interlude, being in theme and treatment wholly non-dramatic. Whether the scenery was in any way changed, we cannot positively say; but a very simple change would be sufficient to suggest what in any case, I think, we must suppose, that the tomb was at some distance from the palace and not in sight of it. It would have been a gratuitous improbability to represent the preceding ceremony as having taken place at the very gates of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra; nor is there a word in any part of the text to require or countenance this supposition. Nothing would be easier than to screen, during the first scene, the simple wooden erections, which in Aeschylus' day probably stood for the 'palace', and to remove the screen (and perhaps the 'tomb') at this point. I should myself suppose that something of this sort was done. If, in order to do it, it was necessary that the Chorus should withdraw by the *parodos* (with Electra), that also would be far from disadvantageous to the effect intended. See further at *vv.* 649, 715.

583—648. 'Many are the terrible marvels of brute nature (583—591), but more marvellous is the daring of man and the passion of woman (592—596): and this passion, when it is seen in rebellion against the bond of wedlock, surpasses all the terrors both of brute nature and human (597—600). Woman's recklessness we see in Althaea sacrificing her son, in Scylla sacrificing her father (601—620). And if these legends are not perfect parallels—for it is another crime, the murder of a husband, which Orestes is about to avenge—legend and language tell us that treason to wedlock is the crime of all crimes, most abhorred, most surely punished, containing all horrors in itself (621—636). Such a punishment is now to be seen. Justice and Fate forge the sword; and Vengeance leads to the work (637—648)'.

For the metrical variations between strophe and antistrophe, which are few and slight, see Appendix II.

583. **γᾶ** Schütz.

584. **δεινὰ δειμάτων ἄχη**: *strange and woeful terrors*. The gen. is definitive or descriptive.—The omission of **καὶ** (Heath) must apparently be right; probably **καὶ** was originally written over **δεινὰ**, or in the margin, by some one who objected to **δεινὰ δειμάτων** and wished to suggest the correction **καινὰ** (*novel*).

585. **ἀγκάλαι**: the *arms* or *embrace* of the sea, an expression suggested by the curve of the waves, used in Eur. *Hel.* 1062 as a mere decoration (see also Aristoph. *Frogs* 704), but here, in connexion with the 'offspring' of the sea (cf. **τρέφει** in *v.* 583), singularly picturesque and beautiful.—**βροτοῖσι**. This word, which some would omit, is surely indispensable. Without it **ἀνταίων** can scarcely be understood. See the antistrophe.

πλάθουσι· βλαστοῦσι καὶ πεδαίχμιοι
λαμπάδες πεδάοροι·
πτανά τε καὶ πεδοβά-
μονα κἀνεμόεντ' ἂν
αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον.
ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀν-
δρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι
καὶ γυναικῶν φρεσὶν τλημόνων [καὶ]
παντόλμους ἔρωτας,
ἔρωτας ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν;

588. π·δαμαροι (corr. to πεδάμαροι m). 590. κἀνεμοέντων.
595. ἔρωτας omitted.

587. **πλάθουσι**, *i.e.* πλήθουσι *are full.* —**βλαστοῦσι**: *are poured forth*, 'come' or 'are produced in abundance'. Similar metaphors (see ἀνθεῖν, βρύειν) are used in Greek poetry with peculiar freedom, and the rarity of the form βλαστεῖν should protect the word against suspicion.—**καὶ**: *also, too.*—**πεδαίχμιοι**: lit. *in the interval, i.e.* in the space between heaven and earth. This region also produces its marvels and terrors.

588. **λαμπάδες πεδάοροι**: *the lights of the air*; the context shows that comets and meteors are specially in view, but the sun and stars need not be excluded. —**πεδάοροι** Stanley, an Aeolic form equivalent to μετέωροι: οἶμαι πέδουροι, ἵν' ᾖ τὸ σημαινόμενον "μετέωροι", corrector of M in margin.—No derivation or meaning has been discovered for the MS. πεδάμαροι, though it may nevertheless be correct.

589—591. *And all that flies or that walks the ground can tell that the winds too have their hurricane-wrath*, lit. 'can tell of the hurricane-wrath also of the winds'.—**κἀνεμόεντ' ἂν** (Blomfield): ἂν is necessary, and the masc. ἀνεμοέντων has no construction, though a careless reference to αἰγίδων accounts easily for the error.—**καὶ** (I think) is right, and to the point; it has the same force as in *v.* 587, signifying that in the winds *again* we find a terror.—**φράσαι**: archaic form; Attic φράσειε.

593. **λέγοι**. As it is possible to supply ἄν from the parallel clause (φράσαι ἄν) preceding, this cannot be counted with certainty among the examples of the simple optative used in this way (for the expression of greater remoteness or impossibility) as a variant for the subjunctive, *e.g.* Soph. *Ant.* 604 τεὰν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι; For a thorough discussion of them see Prof. Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 70.

594. **φρεσὶν τλημόνων**: *perverse of heart, by nature.* τλήμων has its quasi-active sense, rather than the strictly passive, *miserable.* In φρεσὶν the sense of the dative is near to the instrumental, cf. *v.* 602.—[**καὶ**], omitted by Klausen, has been inserted plainly under the misapprehension that the preceding καὶ coupled γυναικῶν to ἀνδρός. The metre rejects it.

595. **ἔρωτας**: inserted by Klausen, comparing for the rhetorical repetition Soph. *Ai.* 1204 ἐρώτων δ', ἐρώτων ἀπέπαυσεν, οἴμοι. This at once completes the metre (see App. II.) and accounts for the defect.

596. **συννόμους**: *dwelling* (*i.e. associated*) *with.*

συζυγοῦς δ' ὁμαυλίας
θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρω-
τος ἔρως παρανικᾷ
κνωδάλων τε καὶ βροτῶν. 600
ἴστω δ', ὅστις οὐχ ὑπόπτερος στρ. β'.
φροντίσιν, δαεὶς

597—600. *And female passion, violently rebelling from the yoke and union of the home, surpasses both monsters and human kind.* I follow Enger (and Wecklein) without hesitation in taking **ὁμαυλίας** (gen. sing.) in dependence on *θηλυκρατὴς* (and *ἀπέρωτος*), not as an accusative depending on **παρανικᾷ**: *θηλυκρατὴς ἔρως* is equivalent to *θῆλυς ἔρως κρατῶν*, the two elements in the compound having their separate force.—**ἀπέρωτος**, lit. *loving away from*, defined in sense by *ὁμαυλίας*. —As to the form **συζυγοῦς** (from *συζυγής*), M has *συζύγους*: Enger proposes **συζύγου** (from *σύζυγος*), but there is no reason why archaic Greek should not have wavered in the form of the adjective as late Greek again did.—**κνωδάλων...βροτῶν**. These genitives depend as comparatives on **παρανικᾷ**, somewhat as in Soph. *Ai.* 1357 *νικᾷ γὰρ ἀρετή με τῆς ἐχθρᾶς πολύ* and in the commoner *νικᾶσθαί τινος to be inferior to* (Wecklein). The two words are taken (see *vv.* 585, 596) from the preceding context, and stand typically for the two classes of marvels mentioned above, those of brute nature and of the human soul. There is a triple ascending scale, the terrors of nature, the passions of mankind, and a special case surpassing all, *female passion in revolt against wedlock*.—It is not therefore necessary or desirable to change *βροτῶν* into some word (*στρόβων whirlwinds*, Weil) applicable to the first class.—Another view makes *ὁμαυλίας* depend on *παρανικᾷ*, and *κνωδάλων...βροτῶν* on *ἔρως*, 'Passion rebels against and conquers the marriage-bond, both in the case of animals and of mankind'. This is possible in grammar (though less adapted to the order of the words), and it has been widely held. It is however, I think, impossible in sense. The traces of a matrimonial bond in the animal world are too rare and too slight to justify or explain such a reference.

601. **ἴστω**: *let him know this, i.e.* the truth of the foregoing.—**ὅστις... φροντίσιν** *whoso is not light-minded*, 'he who can think seriously': *ὑπόπτερος*, *winged, fluttering*, is a bold figure for *κοῦφος*.—**δαεὶς τὰν** κτλ. 'when he studies the deed which' etc., or 'instructed by the deed which' etc.—**τὰν**: relative.

603—610. Althaea, daughter of Thestios, at the birth of her son Meleager, was told by the Fates that he should not die until a certain firebrand was consumed. Accordingly she kept the brand, but in revenge for her brothers, slain by Meleager, she burnt it (Apollodorus I. 7. 10, VIII. 1. 2, Paus. X. 3. 4).—**τὰν...μήσατο...πρόνοιαν**: 'the fore-knowledge which she devised', *i.e.* 'the thing fore-known which she deliberately did'.—**παιδο-λυμάς**: *child-destroying*, gen. *παιδολυμάδος*. The accentuation is that of Dindorf, for the MS. *παιδολύμας* (gen. *παιδολύμου*), an unlikely if not impossible formation.—**πυρδαῆ τινά** should not be changed (with Hermann) to the hypothetical and dubiously formed *πυρδαῆτιν*. The addition of *τινά* marks that there is, as there is, a special point made by the epithet, 'a fore-knowledge *πυρδαής*, *as it may be called*', if we are to give, however cumbrously, the full and exact meaning: **πυρδαής** signifies either *learnt from fire* (*δάημι*), or *of burning fire* (*δαίω*), and the context here (*δαεὶς—πῦρ—πρόνοια*) suggests to the ear both derivations

τὰν ἀ παιδολυ-
μὰς τάλαινα Θεστιὰς μήσατο
πυρδαῆ τινὰ πρόνοιαν, 605
καταίθουσα παιδὸς δαφοινὸν
δαλὸν ἥλικ', ἐπεὶ μολὼν
ματρόθεν κελάδησε,
ξύμμετρόν τε διαὶ βίου
μοιρόκραντον ἐς ἦμαρ. 610
ἄλλαν δ' ἔστιν ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν, ἀντ. β'.
φοινίαν Σκύλλαν,
ἅτ' ἐχθρῶν ὑπαὶ
φῶτ' ἀπώλεσεν φίλον Κρητικοῖς
χρυσεοδμήταισιν ὅρμοις 615

606. κ' αἰθοῦσα. 609. διὰ. 610. μοιροκραντοσ δ'.
611. ἄλλα δή τιν'. 615. -οισιν.

equally. It was from *the instruction of the brand*, as explained by the Fates, that Althaea knew the effect of her deed, and by *the burning of the brand* that she executed it. The equivocation is thoroughly Aeschylean and, however little accordant to modern taste, gives a purpose to the epithet, which it otherwise lacks.—For the metre see App. II.—**καταίθουσα** Canter.—**δαφοινόν**: primarily *red*, the colour of the burning brand, but not without a poetical suggestion of the meaning *murderous*.—**παιδὸς...ἥλικ', ἐπεὶ ...κελάδησε**: 'co-aeval with her son since he cried on coming from the womb', *i.e.* from his birth.—**διαὶ** Canter.—**μοιρόκραντον** Canter. *μοιρόκραντος* (see reading of M) was probably first brought in by some one who took it for a gen. case agreeing with *βίου*. After *ἐς* M has an erasure, but the word is supplied by the schol. (*τὸ διὰ βίου μοιρόκραντον ἦμαρ*).—**ξύμμετρον** *τῷ παιδί*: *and sharing his space* (*of time*) *through life to the destined day.*

611. **ἄλλαν δ' ἔστιν** Hermann. 'Legend offers another example to our hatred', lit. 'there is another whom in story we may hate'. **ἔστιν**: *ἔξεστιν, licet.* This is perhaps better than **ἄλλαν δεῖ τιν'** (Turn.), though not satisfactory.

612. For the metre see App. II.

613. **ἐχθρῶν ὑπαὶ...ἀπώλεσεν**: 'was induced by an enemy to destroy' (Wellauer). The interpretation 'destroyed by means of an enemy' is possible in grammar, but would be expressed rather by *διά*, and does not accord with the facts of the story.—Nisus, king of Megara, had a lock of hair, upon which his life depended. Minos of Crete, besieging Megara, induced Scylla, the daughter of Nisus (by the gift of a gold necklace, according to Aeschylus), to cut the lock from her father while he slept.—*ὑπέρ* (Porson and others) gives a simpler sense but does not seem necessary.

615...*tempted and won by the golden necklace that Minos gave*, lit. 'yielding to the golden-subduing necklace'. **χρυσεοδμήταισι** from *χρυσεοδμήτης*, 'golden and subduing', the compound standing simply for the two epithets, cf. *θηλυκρατής* (*v.* 597), *πυρδαής* (*v.* 605) etc. The second epithet refers to the irresistible force of the temptation. I suggest this correction of the MS. *χρυσεοδμήτοισιν* as accounting obviously for the error, and giving a point and purpose to the word.—*χρυσεοκμήτοισιν* (or *χρυσοκμήτοισιν*) *gold-wrought*, Hermann and others; but this

πιθήσασα δώροισι Μίνω,
Νῖσον ἀθανάτας τριχὸς
νοσφίσασ' ἀπροβούλως
πνέοντθ' ἁ κυνόφρων ὕπνῳ·
κιγχάνει δέ μιν Ἑρμῆς. 620
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμνησάμην ἀμειλίχων στρ. γ'.
πόνων, ἀκαίρως δέ·—δυσφιλὲς γαμή-
λευμ' ἀπεύχετον δόμοις·

is objectionable, as not well accounting for the MS.: χρυσεοδμήτοισιν itself is objectionable for its form, as there is neither proof nor likelihood that the stem δαμ- could signify *working* in metal.

618. ἀπροβούλως πνέοντα.....ὕπνῳ: *breathing in unguarded sleep.* The attachment of the adverb to πνέοντα is much more natural in Greek than it would be in English, from the fact that πνεῖν, πνεῦμα, etc. were in Greek common figures for feelings and conditions of mind. Of course πνέοντα has also its literal sense.—πνείοντα Heath for metre. See App. II.

620. μιν. Cf. *Theb.* 440.—*And so Hermes took him, i.e.* 'he died in spite of his immortal hair' (Sidgwick). Ἑρμῆς, ὁ θάνατος (schol.), *i.e.* Hermes χθόνιος or ψυχόπομπος, who takes souls to the lower world. Wecklein cites the use of κιχάνω in Homer, *Il.* 22. 436 νῦν αὖ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κιχάνει, *ib.* 303 νῦν αὐτέ με μοῖρα κιχάνει.

621. ἐπεὶ δ'...ἀκαίρως δέ. *But since the ungentle feats, which I have cited, fit not the present purpose,....* The sentence is compressed, and in the full form of prose would run ἐπεμνησάμην μὲν ἀμειλίχων πόνων, ἀκαίρως δ' ἐπεμνησάμην: indeed μέν was actually inserted in the text by some commentator who rightly understood the meaning, and a trace of it remains in the MS. reading ἐπεμνήσαμεν or ἐπεμνάσαμεν (ἐπεμνησάμην Heath).—The previous discourse on the monstrous effects of passion, and of female passion in particular, is pointed of course at Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. The crimes of Althaea and Scylla are so far similar that they are ἀμείλιχοι πόνοι: they show to what extremes of cruelty women may be carried by the feeling of the moment. But they are nevertheless 'inopportunely cited', and not to the present purpose, inasmuch as they lack the essential features of the case, the adultery and the domestic treason. They were not done (not even the crime of Scylla, as Aeschylus tells the story) for love, nor against a husband. And they are also inadequate in this, that being acts of women, they do not cover the part of Aegisthus, upon which Orestes, for obvious reasons, has laid special and almost exclusive stress. —The expected sequel to this ἐπεὶ κτλ. (*I will cite a better instance*) is given substantially in *vv.* 629—636 (where the sentence is resumed with an 'apodotic' δέ); and it is there further shown that in a certain sense the preceding examples, and all other examples of crime, are really relevant. The intervening parenthesis (*vv.* 622—628) explains ἀκαίρως δέ by marking the distinctive points in the present case, *viz.* (1) the adultery, (2) that the victim was the husband, (3) that one principal object of vengeance is the paramour. Points (2) and (3) are, for a further purpose, combined in one antithetic sentence.—See further App. I. § 17.

622—623. ἀπεύχετον is predicate; supply ἐστίν. *It is from a horrible 'wedlock' that the house prays to be delivered.* The curious word γαμήλευμα

γυναικοβούλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν
ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τευχεσφόρῳ,
ἐπ' ἀνδρί, δήοις ἐπεικότως ἔβας,
τίων δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν δόμων,
γυναικείαν ἄτολμον αἰχμάν·—

626. δηΐοισ ἐπικότω σέβασ.

seems to parody the honourable name of γάμος, and was perhaps invented for the purpose.

624—628. *And it is a man (husband), a man and a soldier, against whom thou pursuest a plot of woman's cunning, imitating indeed thine adversary, but (thereby) showing respect to that hearth without fire, his cowardly womanish temper.* This sentence, though by no means complicated in construction, and in the main sense sufficiently simple, cannot be rendered into English exactly and at the same time adequately; partly because the form is essentially Greek, and only possible to a language having inflexions, but chiefly because English does not reproduce the double sense (*man, husband*) of ἀνήρ. The ἀνήρ of the sentence is Aegisthus, and the plot that of Orestes; but an ironical parallel is suggested between Aegisthus and his victim, in order to mark that in attacking him by treachery and with the aid of women, not as man against man, Orestes is using him as well as he merits. Orestes himself makes a like point in *vv.* 554—556, and see *Ag.* 1625 foll., 1643 foll., where the reproach here suggested (γυναικοβούλους, γυναικείαν) is put upon Aegisthus in express terms. The point is material here, as it helps to bring Aegisthus as well as Clytaemnestra within the application of the 'Lemnian' story afterwards alleged. —γυναικοβούλους μήτιδας...ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ... ἔβας, *i.e.* ἐπέβας: *thou hast assailed a man with a plot*, etc. The acc. is the common quasi-cognate or 'inner' accusative. For ἐπιβαίνειν τινί in this sense see L. and Sc. *s. v.*—τευχεσφόρῳ. Aegisthus, like Agamemnon, is 'a man of arms' (*vv.* 764, 765), though in another sense.—ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ...ἐπ' ἀνδρί: the repetition enforces the irony of the appellation. —δήοις ἐπεικότως: *in the adversary's fashion*, οὕτως ὡς τοῖς δήοις ἐπέοικε, 'in a way proper to the adversary'. For the dependence of δήοις on the adverb cf. φίλως ἐμοί, φίλως πατρὶ τῷμῷ 'in a way agreeable to me, to my father' (*Ag.* 1591), καλῶς κείνῃ, *inf.* 735, etc., and the similar genitives with ἀξίως (*in a manner worthy of*) etc. The plural (δήοις) may be intended tacitly to include Clytaemnestra, but would be admissible and proper, even if applied to Aegisthus alone, since it is a generic, not personal, description, 'the adversary' (cf. τοῖς κυρίοισι *inf.* 685).—There is in this δήοις ἐπεικότως, spoken by the supporters of Orestes, something of concession and apology, which becomes even more clear when we note, that (as appears from the following antithetic τίων δέ) the words are intended to have the same tone as if the poet had written δήοις μὲν ἐπεικότως. The truth is, and Aeschylus evidently felt, that the plan of Orestes does need all the excuses which the character of his enemy can give him. The Greek standard of fair dealing was not high; but by the time of Aeschylus, who (it must be remembered) has to make the best of a story imposed by tradition, it would certainly have been thought that treachery could hardly go deeper and lower than in practising upon the sacred obligation of hospitality. The original inventors of the legend would probably have felt far less scruple. Sophocles is careful to throw on the

κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον ἀντ. γ'.
λόγῳ· γοᾶται δὲ δή ποθ' ἓν κατά- 630
πτυστον, ἤκασεν δέ τις
τὸ δεινὸν αὖ Λημνίοισι πήμασιν·

630. δὴ ποθει.

divine command the responsibility for the use of treachery; and indeed he has so handled the story as to diminish the weight of the objection. Euripides, who approached the legend as a critic and destroyer, has of course no difficulty; he leaves it to be understood that Orestes was unscrupulous, and generally condemned by honest people.—**ἔβας**: Engl. perfect (*thou hast assailed*). For the anonymous apostrophe to Orestes, which in the situation is perfectly clear, compare the anonymous reference to him in *v.* 864, **ἕξει** *he* (Orestes) *shall win*.—**τίων δὲ** κτλ. The antithesis is to **δήοις ἐπεικότως**. The plot of Orestes is (it is true) in itself fit rather for Aegisthus, but in this Orestes pays a proper compliment to the genius of his opponent. To meet a man at his own game, with his own weapons, is (in an ordinary case) to show respect for the art which he practises: the application of the term to the case of meeting a traitor with treachery is of course bitterly ironical.—To omit **δὲ** would make a simpler construction in appearance, but in reality would obscure and injure the meaning.—**ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν δόμων**. I take this phrase to be purely metaphorical. So taken, it is obscure indeed, but not, I think, by any means unintelligible. Unless we resort to emendation, which has not proved efficient, we plainly must identify the *fireless* or *warmthless hearth* with the *spiritless temper*. Since warmth is a natural and known figure for *courage*, spirit (*e.g.* Soph. *Ant.* 88), the simile was ready to hand; and it expresses the intended contempt. **ἑστία δόμων** is to be taken as one compound phrase, *house-hearth*, not distinguishable in meaning from **ἑστία**.—**αἰχμάν**: see *Ag.* 489.—On the whole preceding passage see further App. I. § 17.

629. The sentence is resumed from *v.* 622, see note there.—**τὸ Λήμνιον** (**κακόν**): the crime of the women of Lemnos, who murdered their husbands: they afterwards wedded with the Argonauts. See Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 252 **μίγεν** (the Argonauts) **Λαμνιὰν ἔθνει γυναικῶν ἀνδροφόνων**. This example, unlike those of Althaea and Scylla, is precisely to the point, except that, since the Argonauts were not accomplices in the murder of the husbands, the parallel does not extend to Aegisthus, a defect which has been anticipated by the insinuation, that such a 'man' as Aegisthus may count for a woman.—**πρεσβεύεται.....λόγῳ**: *ranks first in story*.

630—632. 'And as often as a deed of horror is lamented, some one cites again for parallel *the crime of Lemnos*'. Literally 'one particular horror (suppose) happens to be lamented; some one compares that crime' etc. The two propositions are co-ordinated in the older 'paratactic' fashion of Homer, whereas in the later 'periodic' style the first would be subordinate. For **δή** *now*, which marks that the statement is put as a hypothesis, compare the familiar use of **καὶ δή**, *sup.* 563.—**δὴ ποθ' ἓν** Enger, for **δὴ ποθει**. I consider this reading certain; **ἓν** is required to explain **αὖ** in the following clause, the point being that for *each single* instance of crime, 'the crime of crimes' is cited again. **δὴ ποθει** (*i.e.* **δή ποθ' εἰ**) was probably substituted deliberately by a reader who saw that the clause

θεοστυγήτῳ δ' ἄχει
βροτῶν ἀτιμωθὲν οἴχεται γένος,
σέβει γὰρ οὔτις τὸ δυσφιλὲς θεοῖς· 635
τί τῶνδ' οὐκ ἐνδίκως ἀγείρω;
τὸ δ' ἄγχι πλευμόνων ξίφος στρ. δ'.

was in fact hypothetic, and thought it necessary to introduce a regular hypothetic conjunction.—**ἤκασεν**: 'gnomic' aorist, of that which is done habitually. —Portus, Hermann, and others read **ἄν** for **αὖ**, but **αὖ** is proper to the point, and **ἤκασεν ἄν** (*was* wont to compare) would refer only to the past (Sidgwick). A schol. has **εἰκονίσειέ τις**: but the authors of the schol. are so careless of syntax that no inference in favour of **ἄν** can be founded on this.—For the proverbial use of the 'Lemnian crime' the commentators cite Herod. 6. 138 **νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι.**

633. **θεοστυγήτῳ ἄχει**: *because of the gods' detestation of that woeful deed*, lit. 'because the sorrowful deed is god-detested'. The case is a causal 'dative-absolute'; see *Agamemnon*, App. Z.—**ἄχει**: *woeful thing*, cf. **ἄχη** in *v.* 584, and note **γοᾶται** in *v.* 630. Con. rightly defends **ἄχει** against the conjecture **ἄγει**.

634 ... *their race perishes with dishonour from among mankind.* **βροτῶν** depends (as a privative or ablative) upon **ἀτιμωθὲν οἴχεται**, equivalent in sense to **ἐξόλωλεν**, **ἐξέφθαρται**. It is also suggested that the general hate has caused the destruction of the race. This is substantially the explanation of Heath (and Conington), and is clearly right.—**γένος**: **τὸ τῶν Λημνιάδων** schol. It is, I think, probable that this refers to some particular fact or facts. The royal family of Cyrene, for example, the Battiadae, traced their descent to one of the Lemniades (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 254): and it must be to the fall of some such house that Aeschylus alludes, probably to that of the Battiadae themselves. The last prince of this house, Arcesilas IV., was reigning in 460 B.C., after which no more is known of him. His heir, and perhaps he himself also, was murdered and the royalty abolished, but the date of these events is not known. He was a cruel tyrant (see the commentaries on Pind. *Pyth.* 4), and Athenian sympathy must have been entirely with his mutinous subjects, especially as the family had 'medized'. When the *Orestea* was written their overthrow, if it had not happened, must have been eagerly expected; and either condition would account for the language of the poet. The bearing of it upon the play is that the fall of the adulterous tyranny will be universally welcome (cf. *v.* 53): but in truth the remark is not here particularly necessary, and is brought in rather for the sake of the side-glance at history.

636. 'Are not all my examples needed?' lit. 'Which of these (cases) have I not good right to bring into the collection?' or, as Conington puts it 'add to the heap'. The crime of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus seems as it were the sum of all possible crimes, so that, as every horror is likened to that of Lemnos, each and any may be alleged in illustration of this. To this extent then we retract our **ἀκαίρως δέ** (*v.* 622).

637. *That sword is now approaching the heart, to strike with help of Justice a piercing stroke of its keen point.* **τὸ ... ξίφος**: the sword of divine and human vengeance on sin (*vv.* 633—635).—**ἄγχι πλευμόνων** is in effect an adjective to **ξίφος**, 'that sword, a sword near the heart'. There is no reason to connect these words with **σύτῳ**, and thus force them to the meaning '*at*' or '*to* the heart'.

διανταίαν ὀξυπευκὲς οὐτᾷ
διαὶ Δίκας. †τὸ μὴ θέμις γὰρ οὐ
λὰξ πέδον πατούμενον
τὸ πᾶν Διὸς
σέβας παρεκβάντες οὐ θεμιστῶς.
Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμήν, ἀντ. δ'.
προχαλκεύει δ' Αἶσα φασγανουργός·
†τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει
διμασε
δωμάτων παλαιτέρων
τείνει μύσος
χρόνῳ κλυτὴ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς.
ΟΡ. παῖ παῖ, θύρας ἄκουσον ἑρκείας κτύπου.—
τίς ἔνδον, ὦ παῖ, παῖ, μάλ' αὖθις, ἐν δόμοις;—

638. σοῦται. 642. ἀθεμίστως (α changed to ου). 644. προσχαλκεύει.

The sword has not yet struck: **οὐτᾷ** is the inceptive present, 'it goes to wound, is about to wound'.—**οὐτᾷ** Hermann, *σοῦται* M, by accidental repetition of the preceding *σ*.

639—642. **τὸ μὴ...θεμιστῶς.** This is not right, but had best remain untouched. The suggested restorations (including my own previous attempts) involve too much change to be worth consideration. If we were sure of the metre, something might be said for this: *τὸ μὴ θέμις γὰρ οὐ | λὰξ πέδον πατοῦμεν ὂν | τὸ πᾶν Διός, | σέβας παρεκβάντες οὐ θεμιστῶς· | Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται κτλ.* 'For when, quitting lawful reverence, we tread forbidden ground, it is not all God's ground which our proud feet trample. No! There is ground for Justice to set her anvil on; Fate, the smith, is then forging the sword' etc. The first sentence expanded and arranged in prose form could run thus: *τὸ γὰρ μὴ θέμις (πέδον) λὰξ πατοῦμεν οὐκ ὂν τὸ πᾶν Διὸς πέδον.* The quaintness of the thought is by no means an objection; and the freedom taken in placing the negative is but a slight extension of the liberty common in the poets, *e.g.* Soph. *O. T.* 1391 *τί μ' οὐ λαβὼν ἔκτεινας εὐθύς*; for *τί με λαβὼν οὐκ ἔκτεινας*; This explanation has at least the merit of giving some point and meaning to *τὸ πᾶν*, and showing a connexion between this strophe and the next; neither of which requirements is satisfied by any other that I have seen. But the antistrophe offers some evidence, though faint and uncertain, that *v.* 639 is too long by an iambus. If that is so, this verse has been patched up deliberately, and there is practically no base or limit for conjecture.

645—649 are hopeless. The schol. has *ἐπεισφέρει δὲ τοῖς οἴκοις τέκνον παλαιῶν αἱμάτων, ὅ ἐστι, τίκτει ὁ φόνος ἄλλον φόνον*, which suggests that for *διμασε* and *δωμάτων* some one read (or wished to read) *δόμοις* and *αἱμάτων*. But even with these corrections, of which *δόμοις* at any rate is extremely uncertain, we are far from a conclusion: *τέκνον* is ill-placed, since it does not refer to what precedes, and the explaining *αἱμάτων* is remote; *ἐπεισφέρει* is not suitable; *τείνει μύσος* will not construe, and *τίνειν μύσος* (a common reading), though it looks better, ought not to pass; lastly, as applied to *Ἐρινύς* neither *κλυτή* nor *χρόνῳ κλυτή*

τρίτον τόδ' ἐκπέραμα δωμάτων καλῶ,

seems intelligible, without some aid which the context at present refuses. The general meaning, as all are agreed, must be that the Avenger carries out the work of punishment, which Justice and Fate prepare. My own suspicion is that the text contained some part of *ἐπεισφρεῖν* (*to let in at a door*), a word which the copyists regularly confuse with *φέρειν*, and that the *child of the house* whom the Erinys *lets in* is Orestes, who now comes knocking at the gate of it. But the words have been destroyed, which is the more vexatious, as *vv.* 643—644 are singularly magnificent.

649—714. This scene is supposed to take place before the main outer gate of the fortress, here for the third time (see *vv.* 559, 569) distinguished by the epithet ἕρκειος (gate *of the wall* or *precinct*). If there was one permanent background for the whole play, and this background had (like the normal background ultimately adopted for tragedy) three doors, the ἕρκειαι πύλαι would no doubt be figured by the central door. But it is to be carefully remembered that we know nothing for certain of Aeschylean scenery, neither how much there was, nor how it was set, nor how (if at all) it was changed.—Orestes with Pylades and a train of companions, pretending to be merchant-travellers, enter, or have entered during the preceding ode. A curious and not unimportant question arises here as to the persons by whom this ode is sung. It is commonly assumed that the singers are the maid-servants, who are awaiting Orestes at the gate. But the ode contains no proof of this, nor any indication even of the sex of the performers. The strong denunciation of women (*vv.* 596—600 and *passim*) is rather more appropriate to men. Both the other plays of the trilogy had a Second Chorus; and we shall see other indications hereafter that, as would naturally be expected, the full resources of the company were used in this play also. Now it is, I think, certainly remarkable, if we suppose the maid-servants, confederates of Orestes, to be found here present by Orestes, that he takes not even so much notice of them as to exchange a word before proceeding to the execution of the common design. Should we not suppose the course of performance to be this? The maid-servants leave the scene with Electra at *v.* 582, by one of the *parodoi* or side-entrances, as if returning to the castle. Orestes and Pylades depart by the other. The scene is then empty, the break (and changed scenery?) assisting (like that at *v.* 933) to represent the supposed lapse of time. The companions of Orestes, or some of them, then enter and sing the ode, the rest of the train entering after it is sung, or towards the conclusion of it. Then Orestes advances to the gate and the scene proceeds. The maid-servants, of whose presence there is no trace until *v.* 715, enter there (see note). The more carefully the scene is considered, the more, I think, it will appear that this is the natural conclusion from the text. In particular, there is then no reason why Orestes should speak to the chorus, being persons with whom he has come. That any dramatist would have made the scene commence as it does, if the chorus are supposed to have been awaiting Orestes for a long time before, is not easy to believe without positive proof. See also note on *v.* 694.

649. παῖ παῖ: *Slave, ho!* the usual formula, see Aristoph. *Birds* 57, *Acharn.* 396, *Clouds* 132.

651. 'For the third time I bid that some one come to the door', lit. 'summon a coming-forth from the house'. τρίτον τόδε belongs strictly not to ἐκπέραμα but to καλῶ ἐκπέραμα. Cf. Herod. 5. 76 *τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι having come this fourth time to Attica* (Wordsworth, Conington).

εἴπερ φιλόξεν' ἐστὶν Αἰγίσθου διαί.
ΟΙ. εἶεν, ἀκούω· ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος; πόθεν;
ΟΡ. ἄγγελλε τοῖσι κυρίοισι δωμάτων,
πρὸς οὕσπερ ἦκω καὶ φέρω καινοὺς λόγους
(τάχυνε δ', ὡς καὶ νυκτὸς ἅρμ' ἐπείγεται
σκοτεινόν, ὥρα δ' ἐμπόρους μεθιέναι
ἄγκυραν ἐν δόμοισι πανδόκοις ξένων)·
ἐξελθέτω τις δωμάτων τελεσφόρος·
γυνή τ' ἄπαρχος, ἄνδρα τ' εὐπρεπέστερον·
αἰδὼς γὰρ ἐν λεχθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐπαργέμους
λόγους τίθησιν· εἶπε θαρσήσας ἀνὴρ
πρὸς ἄνδρα κἀσήμηνεν ἐμφανὲς τέκμαρ.—

652. 'if it remains a hospitable house in Aegisthus' hands', *i.e.* under his management. **Αἰγίσθου διαί**: cf. *sup.* 639 *διαὶ Δίκας with the aid* or *permission of Justice*, *Ag.* 455 *ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικὸς because of another's wife*. These archaic phrases, none of which accords exactly with the classical use of *διά*, support one another, and may be illustrated by the Latin *per*. Thus we might translate here 'si per Aegisthum licet esse *φιλοξένοις*'.—Con., Sidgwick and others rightly defend the text. The objection to the form *διαί* for *διά* as 'unnecessary' is misconceived. Both the form and syntax are archaic and agree with each other.—Note that *ἐστὶν is now* has an emphasis: the present tense (*is now*) is opposed to the past, as in *v.* 512 to the future. The question is whether, under Aegisthus, the house maintains its reputation.

653. **ΟΙκέτης** Turnebus.

ib. **εἶεν, ἀκούω**, as in Aristoph. *Peace* 663. The metrical irregularity is excused by necessity, as the formula will not otherwise come into the verse. Whether the gate-keeper comes out or answers from within does not appear. Three actors are employed in this scene—Orestes, the Porter, Clytaemnestra. Pylades has no part.

657. **μεθιέναι**: *slip* anchor. A prose-writer, keeping the common phrase, would have said *καθιέναι drop*: but it is not necessary (with Dindorf) to substitute this.

658. **δόμοισι...ξένων**: 'a house of general reception for strangers' *i.e.* an inn. He pretends to suppose that they will not be received at the palace. It is of course essential to his purpose that he should not betray any anxiety to obtain admission. See *v.* 696 foll.

659. This is the message, given, after the parenthesis, in direct form, instead of in dependence upon *ἄγγελλε*.—**δωμάτων τελεσφόρος**: *person having authority* or *office* (*τέλος*) *in the house*.

660—663. 'And let it be the husband that comes; for the wife is without authority, and one can speak more freely to a man'. The meaning is expressed with a certain colloquial looseness and compression, but without any real obscurity. Orestes, who for obvious reasons wishes to dispose first of the captain of the soldiers, desires to bring out Aegisthus, but to do this without showing a suspicious particularity. Accordingly he asks first for 'one of the authorities' in the house, and then suggests that the husband would be preferable. For this he gives, or rather hints, *two* reasons, (1) that his news requires a decision (see *v.* 679), which the wife, as subordinate, will not be competent to give, and (2) that it is painful news, and therefore can with

ΚΛ. *ξένοι, λέγοιτ' ἂν εἴ τι δεῖ· πάρεστι γὰρ*
ὁποῖά περ δόμοισι τοῖσδ' ἐπεικότα,
καὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ πόνων θελκτηρία
στρωμνή, δικαίων τ' ὀμμάτων παρουσία.
εἰ δ' ἄλλο πρᾶξαι δεῖ τι βουλιώτερον,
ἀνδρῶν τόδ' ἐστὶν ἔργον, οἷς κοινώσομεν.

less embarrassment be delivered to a man. —**γυνὴ τ' ἄπαρχός** (*ἐστι*): *and the wife is without authority*, or more strictly *deprived of her authority*, which merges in that of her husband. The phrase was probably conventional. Here, as in *Ag.* 1226, the proper interpretation of **ἄπαρχος** removes all difficulty. The privative sense is the only one which the word will bear. The conjectures (**τόπαρχος, τ' ἔπαρχος, ἄνδρα δ'**, etc.) are unnecessary and injure the sense.—Note that **τε...τε** are not correspondent. The first **τε** subjoins the whole remark (**γυνὴ...τέκμαρ**) to the general description **τις τελεσφόρος**: the second **τε** (*and moreover*) couples the second point in the remark to the first point.—**ἄνδρα τ'** (**ἐλθεῖν**) **εὐπρεπέστερόν** (**ἐστιν**): the construction is to be completed from the context.—**αἰδὼς γὰρ** κτλ.: 'For (if you have a man to speak to) a delicacy in the thing said does not force you to veil your language: man to man speaks boldly, and shows his proof without disguise'.—**αἰδὼς...ἐν λεχθεῖσιν**: to be taken together in the sense of **αἰδὼς ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν οὖσα**, *i.e.* a quality in the matter such that one feels a delicacy in communicating it. Orestes implies that his present message is of this kind.—The schol. **ἐν ταῖς πρὸς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίαις** (**ὁμολίαις** M, corr. by Victorius) does not seem to give any support to **λέσχαισιν**, the conjecture of Emperius for **λεχθεῖσιν**. It is as applicable to the one word as to the other, that is, it is equally wrong in both cases. The annotator escapes from the difficulty, in which he thus lands himself, by remarking that "the negative **οὐ** is redundant". The word **λέσχη** is scarcely appropriate; and the use of the participle as substantive without the article (**λεχθέντα** for **τὰ λεχθέντα**) is common in Aeschylus. So also is the attachment of a compound phrase, such as **ἐν λεχθεῖσι**, directly to a noun by way of adjective. The text is not liable to suspicion. The note is probably due to misunderstanding of an older commentator.—**ἐπαργέμους**: properly an epithet of eyes obscured by cataract: **σκοτεινούς, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λευκωμάτων** schol. The application of the simile to veiled language is singularly apt and expressive.—**οὐκ...τίθησιν**: lit. 'does not make language veiled', *i.e.* 'compel it to be veiled'.

664. It is an admirable stroke of dramatic wit, that in obedience to Orestes' requisition the servant quietly and as a matter of course brings out Clytaemnestra, who, notwithstanding her decorous disclaimer (*v.* 712), is in fact the **ἀνὴρ τελεσφόρος** of the castle. She comes attended (*v.* 708), and probably with guards.

664—669. "The moment Clytaemnestra appears we have the terrible dramatic irony of the *Agamemnon* again...the 'things that befit this house', 'the bath', 'the presence of honest eyes'", all which phrases, simple as they are, remind us with extraordinary skill of the death of Agamemnon. "Even the natural words **ἀνδρῶν...οἷς κοινώσομεν** touch the thought again of her adultery". (Sidgwick.)

666. **θελκτηρία** Wakefield; **θελκτήρια** M. The adj. governs the gen. **πόνων**.

668. **εἰ δ' ἄλλο** κτλ. The message of Orestes has implied that such is the case. —**βουλιώτερον**: *requiring consideration*. The comparative merely serves to contrast matter of business with simple entertainment.

OP. *ξένος μέν εἰμι Δαυλιεὺς ἐκ Φωκέων·* 670
στείχοντα δ' αὐτόφορτον οἰκείᾳ σαγῇ
ἐς Ἄργος, ὥσπερ δεῦρ' ἀπεζύγην πόδας,

671. οἰκίαι.

670. **Δαυλιεύς**: *of Daulis* or *Daulia*, a town in Phocis between Orchomenus and Delphi. Since Strophius (according to Soph. *El.* 180) belonged to Crisa (part of Delphi), the scene of the supposed meeting here narrated seems to be laid at the same junction of roads which in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (733) is the meeting-place of Laius and Oedipus, *σχιστῇ δ' ὁδὸς ἐς ταὐτὸ Δελφῶν κἀπὸ Δαυλίας ἄγει* (Wecklein).

671. **οἰκείᾳ** Turnebus.—*And as I was on my way to Argos, conveying a freight upon my own proper account*...**αὐτόφορτον οἰκείᾳ σαγῇ**, lit. 'self-freighted with package of my own', signifies, as the context shows, that he was travelling *with goods upon his own business* (*ἐπ' ἰδίᾳ πραγματείᾳ* schol.), that he had undertaken the journey as a merchant, and not for the express purpose of bringing the message of Strophius. The assumption of this character is natural, as free from suspicion, and serves to account for his train, who are a caravan of merchants travelling with him in the usual way, with servants etc. to carry the ostensible goods (*v.* 709).—Some suppose the meaning to be that Orestes (and Pylades) actually carries his own pack. I have discussed this view, which seems to me on every ground impossible, in the note to *v.* 709. Here it is sufficient to say that the words at any rate do not necessarily mean this: *αὐτόφορτος* is an indeterminate word, which will take its sense from the context: the gloss of Hesychius, *αὐτόφορτοι· αὐτοδιάκονοι* (*being one's own servant*), *κυρίως δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πλοίοις* (*freighting one's own ship*), Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστῃ Σικυωνίῳ, gives two of many possible senses, none more *κύριον* than another. Neither of the two is that of Aeschylus here, nor does Hesychius refer to this passage, as appears from the plural form *αὐτόφορτοι*.

672. **ὥσπερ**...**πόδας**: *just when I parted off in this direction*, literally, 'when I disjoined feet (steps) hitherward', *i.e.* at the junction of the roads, where Orestes' way (to Argos) separated from that of Strophius (to Crisa). This temporal clause is attached to *εἶπε* (not to *συμβαλὼν*), for the phrase *ἀπεζύγην πόδας* is natural only if the pair had journeyed for a time together. The supposed facts, which are narrated with a studied carelessness, are these: between Daulis and the junction of roads Orestes fell in with Strophius; they went on together to the junction, exchanging information (*vv.* 674—675) about their names, destinations etc.; when they separated (or *uncoupled*, as the poet puts it, *ἀπεζύγησαν πόδας*) Strophius gave the message. The mention of the parting before the meeting belongs to the same affectation of colloquial negligence as the abrupt insertion of *v.* 675, and the loose 'provisional' accusative *στείχοντα*, which, as the sentence eventually proceeds, has no exact construction. So in *v.* 677 *τοὺς τεκόντας* precedes the explanatory 'Ορέστην.—A totally different explanation of **ὥσπερ**... **πόδας** is given by a schol., *τῆς ὁδοῦ* (*τῆς ὁδοιπορίας*) *ἀπέλυσα, ἐπὶ τῷ ξενισθῆναι παρ' ὑμῖν. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀπολυομένων τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἵππων καὶ ἐπὶ φάτνην ὁρμώντων.* According to this, *ἀπεζύγην πόδας* 'I have unyoked my feet' means 'I have brought my journey to a close', and *ὥσπερ* means not 'when' but 'as', *in accordance with which intention I have now ended my journey here.* This is accepted by Paley and Conington (and doubtfully by Sidgwick). I therefore mention it, though I

ἀγνὼς πρὸς ἀγνῶτ' εἶπε συμβαλὼν ἀνὴρ,
ἐξιστορήσας καὶ σαφηνίσας ὁδόν,—
Στροφίος ὁ Φωκεύς· πεύθομαι γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ—
ἐπείπερ ἄλλως, ὦ ξέν', εἰς Ἄργος κίεις,
πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας πανδίκως μεμνημένος
τεθνεῶτ' Ὀρέστην εἰπέ, μηδαμῶς λάθῃ.
εἴτ' οὖν κομίζειν δόξα νικήσει φίλων,
εἴτ' οὖν μέτοικον, εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ξένον,
θάπτειν, ἐφετμὰς τάσδε πόρθμευσον πάλιν.
νῦν γὰρ λέβητος χαλκέου πλευρώματα

do not think it right. We may object (1) the want of point in the remark, (2) the strange metaphor, and (3) above all the inappropriateness in the present situation. Orestes οὔπω πόδας ἀπέζευκται in the sense thus attributed to πόδας ἀποζυγῆναι.

673. ἀγνὼς...ὁδόν: *a stranger who had fallen in with me and had asked my road and told me his.*

675. Στρόφιος. See the Introduction.

676. ἄλλως *otherwise, i.e. in any case, without my commission.*

679—680. εἴτ' οὖν...εἴτ' οὖν. The first οὖν joins this whole period (679—681) to the preceding. The second οὖν is that often added in second alternatives 'or whether *then* (for they may prefer that)'; see Soph. *Phil.* 345.

681. ἐφετμὰς τάσδε: *commands accordingly.*—πόρθμευσον: *bring across (over sea).* The word is not used (it is doubtful whether it could be used) simply for *bring*. Strophius and the merchant had exchanged information as to their routes (*v.* 674). Strophius (we now see) had told the merchant that he was going to Crisa (his home); and the merchant had told Strophius that he was going on a round of trade, which would take him (evidently not through Crisa, and presumably by the Isthmus) to Argos, and bring him back to Daulis *across the gulf, i.e.* by Cirrha, Crisa, and Delphi. Naturally, travelling for trade, he would return by a different way. This gave Strophius the opportunity to ask that he would bring the reply, a request which it would have been absurd to make of a stranger, if it would take him out of his road. Nothing could illustrate more strongly than this passage, how frankly and fully Aeschylus depended upon foreknowledge of the story on the part of his audience. This whole narrative is unintelligible, unless it is known that Strophius (according to the legend) lived at Crisa. Yet Aeschylus does not mention this; and it is merely because Sophocles chose to retain the fact in his version, that we happen to be acquainted with it. Moreover the curt loose style of the narration, though perfectly natural in real life, and perfectly intelligible to a Clytaemnestra personally acquainted with the circumstances presumed, could never be followed by an audience, unless they were in fact previously informed.

682. νῦν γὰρ: all that has been done *so far* is to have him properly lamented and burnt.—κεκλαυμένου. It is not strange that Pearson wished to substitute κεκαυμένου: for κεκλαυμένου, though it signifies merely the regular and ceremonial performance of mourning, jars with the off-hand, casual behaviour attributed to Strophius in the whole transaction. But this is intentional; see the Introduction. It is carefully intimated (*vv.* 677, 684) that 'the merchant' is merely a faithful

σποδὸν κέκευθεν ἀνδρὸς εὖ κεκλαυμένου.
τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας εἶπον. εἰ δὲ τυγχάνω
τοῖς κυρίοισι καὶ προσήκουσιν λέγων 685
οὐκ οἶδα, τὸν τεκόντα δ' εἰκὸς εἰδέναι.
ΚΛ. οἶ 'γώ, κατ' ἄκρας ἐνπᾶς† ὡς πορθούμεθα.
ὦ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων ἀρά,
ὡς πόλλ' ἐπωπαῖς, κἀκποδὼν εὖ κείμενα,

reporter. The words are given as those of Strophius, and the tone of them illustrates his supposed feelings and character.

684. **τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας εἶπον**: *That is all that I was told.* **τοσαῦτα** is 'just so much and no more'.

685. **τοῖς...προσήκουσιν**: *to a person of authority, to a relative.* The plurals describe the character as such, cf. *v.* 626; the reference is to Clytaemnestra only. So **τὸν τεκόντα** is *the parent* as such, irrespective of sex.—**τὸν τέκοντα...εἰδέναι**: *but* (in such a case) *it is the parent who ought to be informed.* The merchant pretends to divine from the behaviour of Clytaemnestra (see the sequel) that he must be addressing the mother of the dead man, and offers indirectly a sort of rough apology for his rough disclosure. The sequence of **οὐκ οἶδα...εἰδέναι**, without any correlation in meaning, is the extreme of negligence in style; but such is the manner affected in the whole speech.

687. This speech is assigned to Clytaemnestra by (among others) Hermann, Dindorf, Paley, Conington, Sidgwick, Wecklein. It has been assigned by some to Electra, the MS. throughout this scene (*vv.* 649—713) marking merely the points where there is, or is supposed to be, a change of speakers. But "it would be in the last degree unnatural for Clytaemnestra to be silent on the death of her son", or (we may add) that she should take no notice of the supposed behaviour of Electra. For other arguments see Mr Sidgwick's note. Electra, as we expect after the instruction in *v.* 577, does not reappear. The situation requires that Clytaemnestra, even if she feels no grief (which we need not assume), should act it; and if she acts it with something of declamation and emphasis, this is not surprising.

687. **ἐνπᾶσ' ὡς** (or **ἐνπᾶσ' ὡς**) is of course corrupt. Paley (and Bamberger) suggested **εἶπας**; cf. *Pers.* 303 **ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα** *thy tidings are a great light* (relief, joy) *to this house*, Soph. *El.* 1456 **ἦ πολλὰ χαίρειν μ' εἶπας** *I rejoice greatly to hear this.* But to bring the case within these illustrations we must also change **ὡς** to **οἷς** (Ahrens). *This, which I hear from thee, is a thing which destroys us quite.* The text so obtained is possible, but I cannot think it likely. The construction is both cumbrous and obscure. Mr W. G. Headlam suggests that **ἐνπᾶς** (or **ἐνπασ'** m) is the remains of **ἐν πᾶσι** (*in all respects, altogether*) an explanation of **κατ' ἄκρας**, which has expelled the genuine words. I should prefer this assumption decidedly to any correction proposed. One obvious possibility is that the verse contained a simile, **ὡς** meaning *like* and **ἐνπᾶσ** concealing some unknown feminine substantive in **-ᾶς**. For anything known to the contrary **ἐμπᾶς** itself may have been such a substantive, and may have had an appropriate meaning. It seems safest therefore not to adopt any solution.

688. **τῶνδε δωμάτων ἀρά**: *Ag.* 1469, 1477, 1482, 1566. It is natural that Clytaemnestra should throw all upon the 'fatality of the house'. Nor need we suppose that her feeling is altogether insincere.

689—691. *With how wide a survey dost thou bring under the far aim of thy*

τόξοις πρόσωθεν εὐσκόποις χειρουμένη
φίλων ἀποψιλοῖς με τὴν παναθλίαν.
καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης ς'—ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων,

692. σ' omitted.

shafts even that which had been set with care out of the way, stripping me alas! of those I love!—In strictness of construction **πολλά** is substantival, the object of *χειρουμένη*, and *κείμενα* is an adjective to it: but in effect, by the arrangement of the words, **πολλά** is joined to **ἑπωπαῖς**, with the sense given in the translation, an effect made easier by the habit of such constructions as **χοὰς προπομπούς** (*v.* 23). For a similar instance see Soph. *Trach.* 338 *τούτων ἔχω γὰρ πάντ' ἐπιστήμην for of these things I have complete knowledge*, where to the ear, though not in grammatical analysis, *πάντα* qualifies *ἐπιστήμην*, as here *πολλὰ* qualifies *ἑπωπαῖς*. The datives **ἑπωπαῖς** and **τόξοις** are both related to *χειρουμένη* but in different senses: *by* the survey the object is subdued *to*, brought within reach of, the bow.—I suggest **ἑπωπαῖς** (*ἑπωπῆς* M, which differs from it only in accentuation) as clearing up a sentence which has caused much perplexity. If we take *ἑπωπῆς*, we have a choice between alternatives all unsatisfactory: (1) to take *καί* as copula (*and*), coupling *ἑπωπῆς* to *ἀποψιλοῖς*; but the period is then ill-balanced, and *καί*, by its position and crasis, is not easily separable from *ἐκποδὼν εὖ κείμενα*: (2) to stop off *φίλων...παναθλίαν* as a separate sentence, which however is abrupt and has a false emphasis (on *φίλων*, *quasi οὐκ ἐχθρῶν*): (3) to insert a copula (*φίλων τ'* Hartung): but even this (though less objectionable) makes two propositions out of what, to suit the sequel, ought to be one.

692—695. *And now Orestes—who had with prudence kept clear of the fatal avalanche—Orestes now records thee present even in that very chamber, where with returning strength he was projecting a triumphant carouse.* 'Orestes records' that the far-reaching Fate of his house has been found present in Phocis no less than in Argos, *i.e.*, without metaphor, his death testifies to the fact.—**σε...παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει**: I have added *σ'*, necessary to the construction both of *παροῦσαν* and of *ἐγγράφει*, and to the connexion of the whole speech, but lost (inevitably, in the want of correct punctuation) after the final *σ* of *Ὀρέστης*. The phrase *παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει* resumes and combines the two similes, by which the power of Fate is illustrated: the expression *παροῦσαν* (and *ἐγγράφει* too; see App. I. § 18) is suggested principally by the figure of the avalanche; but an archer (*v.* 690) may without any impropriety of language, and even with natural force, be said to *be present* where he strikes.—**ὁλεθρίου πηλοῦ**. This image, which like that of the *τυφώς* (*v.* 86) carries little or no meaning to an English ear, is taken from the 'mud-stream' or 'mud-avalanche', half torrent and half landslip, which in sudden and heavy rain is among the worst perils of a mountainous country. Orestes in his Phocian refuge, as Clytaemnestra is pleased to consider it, could console himself for his losses with the thought that at any rate he had escaped the fatality of his family (cf. *Ag.* 1567—1576). He is compared therefore to a dweller in the mountains, who, after incurring much peril from torrent and avalanche, has escaped, not without injury, to his cabin. Exulting in his deliverance, and fancying himself secure, he is about to repair his strength, and honour the occasion, with meat and wine, when the flood, rising higher or breaking out in a fresh place, rushes into

ἔξω κομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα—
νῦν δ', ἥπερ ἐν δόμοισι βακχείας καλῆς
ἰατρὸς ἐλπὶς ἦν, παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει. 695
OP. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ξένοισιν ὧδ' εὐδαίμοσιν
κεδνῶν ἕκατι πραγμάτων ἂν ἤθελον
γνωστὸς γενέσθαι καὶ ξενωθῆναι· τί γὰρ
ξένου ξένοισίν ἐστιν εὐμενέστερον;
πρὸς δυσσεβείας δ' ἦν ἐμοὶ τόδ' ἐν φρεσίν, 700

693. *νομίζων*. 694. *δήπερ*. *βακχίας*. 700. *δὲ* omitted.

the cabin itself. The figure became proverbial: *ἔξω πηλοῦ πόδα* · *παροιμία* schol.—**εὐβούλως ἔχων**: *in a prudent position*.—**κομίζων**: 'keeping his *rescued* foot' is the full force of the verb and tense. A transcript in the schol. preserves the correct reading. *νομίζων*, '*fancying* himself to have escaped', is probably not an accidental error but a mistaken conjecture.—**νῦν δ', ἥπερ** (*δήπερ* M, *δ' ἥπερ* schol.). The *δέ* is merely resumptive, after the parenthesis, and has no effect on the construction.—**ἥπερ...παροῦσαν**. These words, though clear enough in Greek, cannot be reproduced exactly in English prose, partly because the order must be changed, partly because the personification *ἐλπὶς-ἰατρός* will not bear transference to another language and style. The literal translation is 'present even there, where in his house the prospect of a glorious carouse (indoors) was (his) physician': *ἐν δόμοισι* both explains *ἥπερ* and qualifies *βακχείας*: in the Greek arrangement this is manifest, but in English one of the two connexions must be lost, and with it the cohesion and significance of the sentence. The fact described by *ἐλπὶς ἰατρὸς ἦν* is simply that the battered fugitive feels already stronger in the prospect of food and drink: Aeschylus characteristically personifies the expectation.—**καλῆς**: not merely *festive*, but *glorious, triumphant*, as in Soph. *Phil.* 609 *δέσμιόν τ' ἄγων ἔδειξ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς μέσον, θήραν καλήν*, and frequently. It expresses the man's premature exultation, and is thus important to the purpose of the simile.—**βακχείας**: Turnebus.—See App. I. § 18 for further discussion of this passage and the interpretations of it.

696—702. 'I would much rather have deserved your hospitality by good news; but I had no choice, from my duty both to my acquaintance on the road, and to my entertainer here' (Conington).

698. **γνωστὸς...ξενωθῆναι**: 'to recommend myself to you and to merit your hospitality'. *γνωστὸς* is to be taken with *κεδνῶν ἕκατι πραγμάτων*, 'Known for good things', *i.e.* 'associated with happy tidings'.—**τί γὰρ...**; 'For what good will exceeds that of guest to hosts?' *i.e.* who is more anxious to oblige another than a traveller to oblige those who may receive him?—**ἐστίν**. In such a sentence the verb may be either omitted (*Ag.* 606) or inserted without practical difference, just as in English we may say '*What* is there greater than this?' or 'What *is* there greater?'.—He speaks as if *now* they are likely to be sent away. See the reply.

700. δ' de Pauw. *It was, to my thinking, something of an impiety, not to accomplish* etc. **πρὸς δυσσεβείας ἦν**: lit. 'it was (lay) on the side of impiety', 'in the direction of impiety'. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 545 *ἔχει μοι πρὸς δίκας τι* '(the deed) has something of justice in it', 'a certain plea of justice'. The parallel is not very precise, since *τι* makes much difference: but on the whole this reading (de Pauw),

τοιόνδε πρᾶγμα μὴ καρανῶσαι φίλοις
καταινέσαντα καὶ κατεξενωμένον.
ΚΛ. οὗτοι κυρήσεις μεῖον ἀξίως σέθεν,
οὐδ' ἧσσον ἂν γένοιο δώμασιν φίλος·
ἄλλος δ' ὁμοίως ἦλθεν ἂν τάδ' ἀγγελῶν. 705
ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὁ καιρὸς ἡμερεύοντας ξένους
μακρᾶς κελεύθου τυγχάνειν τὰ πρόσφορα·—

which is accepted by the majority, seems preferable to **πρὸς δ' εὐσεβείας** (Heimsoeth, Wecklein) 'piety suggested to me (a scruple about) not accomplishing', since it is hard to find 'a scruple' in the Greek.—The loss of **δ'** may be due to a series of errors, *πρὸς δ' εὐσεβείας δ'*, *πρὸς δ' εὐσεβείας*, *πρὸς δυσσεβείας*.

701. **καρανῶσαι**: 'to put a head upon', *finish, accomplish*: *καρανούσθω· τελειούσθω*, Hesych. Cf. *v.* 526.

702. *Having given my promise* (to Strophius) *and being under the obligations of hospitality* (to you). So Conington: Wecklein (and others) refer both to Strophius, taking *φίλοις* as merely general, *a friend*. The language admits either; but certainly 'the merchant', in the circumstances supposed, owed the truth to Clytaemnestra at least as much as to Strophius, and it seems more natural that he should recognize this. Moreover it does not appear that he had received from Strophius any such service as *κατεξενωμένον* would imply.

703. *Be assured, thou shalt not the less receive according to thy merits.* **κυρήσεις** is used absolutely. **σέθεν** depends on **ἀξίως**: cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 187 *μόνος γὰρ ἂν λέξειας ἀξίως ἐμοῦ*. This construction is used, instead of the usual genitive depending on *κυρήσεις*, because the genitive (*ἀξίων*) would sound as if it depended on *μεῖον*.—I retain **ἀξίως** (with Hermann and Conington) in preference to *ἀξίων* (de Pauw). Mr Sidgwick objects with truth that *ἀξίως κυρήσεις*, if *κυρεῖν* is absolute, should mean *be in a worthy state*. (See *Theb.* 23 *καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος κυρεῖ*, *ib.* 686 *βίον εὖ κυρήσας*, passages hardly parallel, as Con. makes them, to this.) But the phrase is not *ἀξίως κυρήσεις*: the order and position of the words makes, I think, an important difference. The preceding context determines at once that *κυρήσεις* means *thou shalt receive*, and thus no ambiguity can afterwards arise. The schol. *τῶν σοὶ ἀξίων τιμῶν* proves nothing; it merely gives (in bad Greek) the meaning common to both readings.

705. **ὁμοίως**: *all the same, εἰ καὶ μὴ σὺ ἤγγειλας* schol.

706. **ἔστι**: '*it is*' at this moment; the present need is contrasted with the future (*κυρήσεις, ἂν γένοιο*). Cf. *v.* 512.—**ὁ καιρὸς**: '*the* appropriate hour'.—**ἡμερεύοντας**: 'who have been spending the day', *after their day*: a participle *imperfect*. The verb *ἡμερεύω* seems here to be used without any local or other qualification, and as if it had a complete sense in itself. Perhaps, like the synonymous English *journey*, it bore the senses *to travel a stage* and *to do a day's work* (cf. *journeyman*, and note the use of *τὸ ἡμερήσιον* for *wages* cited in L. and Sc. *s.v.*). The extant examples appear to be rare, and can hardly be supposed to exhaust the history of it. The second sense, in particular, would help materially to explain the next verse.

707. **μακρᾶς κελεύθου** is difficult. It has been explained as a local gen. depending on *ἡμερεύοντας*, '*on* a long journey'. This however is rightly rejected (Paley, Wecklein). There is no analogy between *πρήσσειν ὁδοῖο*, or *διώκειν πεδίοιο*, etc., and *ἡμερεύειν κελεύθου*: nothing in the context

ἄγ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνδρῶνας εὐξένους δόμων,—
ὀπισθόπους δὲ τούσδε καὶ ξυνεμπόρους·
κἀκεῖ κυρούντων δώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα. 710
αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν ὡς ἐπευθύνῳ τάδε.
ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς κρατοῦσι δωμάτων
κοινώσομέν τε κοὐ σπανίζοντες φίλων

here suggests the notion of *place* or *space*; and without this such a rare and archaic construction of the genitive could not be understood. The only translation (I think) which the text will bear is this, 'should obtain *from* their long travel the fit (reward)' *i.e.* 'should enjoy the repose which they have earned', cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1168 σοῦ τοῦτο τυχεῖν *to obtain this of thee*, id. *Phil.* 1315 etc. Such a genitive belongs properly to persons; but here the μακρὰ κέλευθος is personified as a payer, a conception not alien from the style of Aeschylus or from the courtesy of the speaker.—The alternative is to regard τὰ πρόσφορα as having 'slipped in' from *v.* 710 and to substitute some other expression (καταστροφῆς Paley, θελκτήρια Wecklein). I confess that such an error appears to me improbable. The fact that *vv.* 708—710 were originally omitted in M, and are supplied by the corrector in the margin, goes to prove that at least in the MS. from which M was copied (probably of a high antiquity) τὰ πρόσφορα already stood in both places. As to the meaning of the repetition see note on *v.* 710.

708. **αὐτὸν**: *himself, i.e.* Orestes, the principal person, as distinguished from his companions.

709. **δὲ** (not τε, Bamberger) is right (Conington). It gives to the second command the effect of a fresh clause, "much as if μέν had preceded", *Conduct him...; and* (*conduct*) *his companions too.* Cf. *vv.* 205, 231, 723. The gesture would accord with and explain the construction. With *v.* 708 she turns to the house, and with *v.* 709 turns back to the companions of Orestes, whom hitherto neither he nor she have had any occasion to notice.—**ὀπισθόπους**: plural of ὀπίσθοπος, with which form cf. ἀελλόπος, πουλόπος, Οἰδίπους (Blomfield).—As to the companions of Orestes see further App. I. § 19.

710. **δώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα**: *i.e.* τὰ δώμασι πρόσφορα 'what befits *the house*'. The displacement of δώμασι throws upon it an emphasis, which is explained by reference to *v.* 707. The queen changes her first phrase, 'the comfort proper (to their need)' for one even more gracious 'the comfort proper *to our hospitality*'; cf. *v.* 665, ὁποῖά περ δόμοισι τοῖσδ' ἐπεικότα. The phrase has an uncomfortable sound, when the true 'character of the house' is remembered: and here at least (see next note) Clytaemnestra appears to be conscious of the ambiguity. The sinister suggestion is not lost upon the ear of Orestes, and strangely haunts him, when afterwards (*v.* 999) his mind begins to give way.

711—714. These lines already betray, what afterwards appears more clearly (*v.* 765), that Clytaemnestra, though far from suspecting the truth, means to observe the new-comers with vigilance. *V.* 711 is a menace to her steward as well as a recommendation, and *vv.* 712, 713 a sufficiently intelligible warning, for any who may need it, not to presume upon the conventional despair of her previous lament (*v.* 691).

711. **ἐπευθύνῳ**: *liable to account* for the persons entrusted to him; cf. ἐπικίνδυνος *exposed to danger*, ἐπίμομφος *liable to reproach* etc. The exceptional form should be retained, and not altered to the common ὑπεύθυνος (Turnebus), which,

βουλευσόμεσθα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς πέρι. *End of Act* II. *Sc.* i.
ΧΟ. *εἶεν, φίλιαι δμωίδες οἴκων,* 715
πότε δὴ στομάτων
δείξομεν ἰσχὺν ἐπ' Ὀρέστῃ;
ὦ πότνια χθὼν καὶ πότνι' ἀκτὴ
χώματος, ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ ναυάρχῳ
σώματι κεῖσαι τῷ βασιλείῳ, 720
νῦν ἐπάκουσον, νῦν ἐπάρηξον·

714. *βουλευόμεθα.*

just because it was a technical term of Athenian law and politics, a poet would here prefer to avoid.

714. **βουλευσόμεσθα** Stephanus. *βουλευόμεθα* M.—Here Orestes and his companions are conducted by servants (through the supposed *ἔρκειαι πύλαι*) into the castle; and the queen herself with her attendants follows them. From this point to the end of the play the action is supposed to pass in the interior of the fortress, at a place from which are visible the entrances both of the women's apartments or queen's house (*v.* 877) and of the building for the reception of visitors (*ἀνδρῶνες εὔξενοι*) mentioned in *v.* 708. Whether actual change of scenery took place, there is no evidence to show, probably at most nothing more than the covering of one entrance and the uncovering of the others. With the approval of convention there would be no difficulty in acting the whole with one permanent back-ground having three doors.—With regard to the chorus of maid-servants, if we assume (what certainly cannot be proved) that they have remained throughout in the orchestra, they are 'supposed' to be wherever the action is. But we have already remarked (see on *v.* 649) the fact that Orestes on his arrival takes no notice of them; and it is not less curious that Clytaemnestra also ignores entirely their strange conduct in waiting about (*ex hypothesi*) at the gate, an oversight on which they had little cause to reckon. They have no part whatever in the foregoing scene, nor do they now say anything which suggests that they have witnessed it. On the whole therefore it seems more probable that when the scene is clear, and the changes (if any) have been made, they enter by a *parodos*, accompanying their entrance with the anapaests (*vv.* 715—725).

715—717 are probably spoken or chanted by the leader, 718—725 by the whole chorus (Christ, Wecklein).

716. 'Is it not time to prove the power of our lips in the case of Orestes?', *i.e.* to do what we can for him in the way which he suggested (*v.* 579).

718. Nothing can be inferred with certainty from this invocation of the tomb either as to the supposed situation of it with respect to the palace, or as to the disposition of the actual stage-scenery. The apostrophe is equally natural (especially according to the usage of Greek), whether the tomb is now visible or not.—**ἀκτὴ χώματος** *banked mound*; cf. *ἀκτὰν ...βώμιον* an altar-mound, Soph. *O. T.* 182. But this generalized sense of *ἀκτή* does not here altogether obscure the more common sense *shore*, which serves to recall the familiar imagery of *vv.* 314—317, here specially appropriate in connexion with the title *ναυάρχῳ*. The poetical effect is felt, but cannot be precisely analysed.

719. **ναυάρχῳ.** See *Ag.* 1226, *Eum.* 640.

νῦν γὰρ ἀκμάζει Πειθὼ δόλια
ξυγκαταβῆναι, χθόνιον δ' Ἑρμῆν
καὶ τὸν νύχιον τοῖσδ' ἐφοδεῦσαι
ξιφοδηλήτοισιν ἀγῶσιν. 725
ἔοικεν ἀνὴρ ὁ ξένος τεύχειν κακόν·—
τροφὸν δ' Ὀρέστου τήνδ' ὁρῶ κεκλαυμένην.
ποῖ δὴ πατεῖς, Κίλισσα, δωμάτων πύλας

723. ἑρμῆα.

722. *Now is the hour for Persuasion to bring her aiding wiles into the field.* The metaphor (cf. καθήκειν *v.* 453) is taken from the *descent* into the arena of an athletic contest. **δόλια** *craftily*, neut. adj. as adverb: **δολίαν** (de Pauw) gives the same sense, but the error of M (δολία, taking Πειθὼ as nominative) is more easily accounted for if δόλια was the original. The metre admits either, the final vowel of δόλια being lengthened by the initial ξ of ξυγκαταβῆναι.—The power of Persuasion (or Deception) is to prevent premature discovery of the fraud.

723. **δέ**: Conington compares *v.* 709. —**Ἑρμῆν** Turnebus.

724. **καὶ τὸν νύχιον**: *the ghostly one, he that dwells in darkness*: cf. ἐννυχίων ἄναξ (*Hades*) king of the *shades*, Soph. *O. C.* 1559. Who is this? Surely the spirit of Agamemnon himself, so described because a dweller in the world of night and shadow. To bring him, if possible, from that world to this, in order to have his aid, is the purpose of the whole preceding ceremony at the tomb (see especially *vv.* 314—318 σκότῳ φάος ἀντίμοιρον, and *vv.* 328—330); and it would be strange that no reference should here be made to his expected presence, particularly as the invocation of Hermes (who is ψυχοπομπός as well as δόλιος) directly leads up to it. The vague and mysterious description is dictated by the same feeling of doubt and awe which Orestes shows at *v.* 314.—Recent critics rightly reject the explanation καὶ τὸν νύχιον (Ἑρμῆν). Even if there were a Hermes Νύχιος, the sharp distinction of the two characters, which is implied by the article, would be out of place and scarcely intelligible. On the other hand to omit καὶ τὸν νύχιον is arbitrary and (in my judgment) injurious. **ἐφοδεῦσαι**: *watch*, properly 'patrol (as sentinels) round' or 'over'. The selection of the metaphor, as well as the phrase ὁ νύχιος, is well adapted to the hour, and also to the scene, which is the interior of the fortress. By this time night is falling (see *v.* 654), a condition favourable in every way to Orestes and presumably calculated on in his plans. That the enterprise did as a fact take place at night the audience would know beforehand from the story which Aeschylus assumes and follows.

725. **ξιφοδηλήτοισιν**: cf. *Ag.* 1530. The passive *form* of the adj. follows that of the verb δηλέομαι *destroy*.

726. **ἀνὴρ** Porson: ἀνὴρ M.—'*The traveller' belike is at his fatal work—but here is* etc. They are beginning to conjecture vaguely as to the progress of the plot, when the appearance of the nurse (from the door of Clytaemnestra) offers the chance of enquiry.

728. **Κίλισσα**: named, as slaves often were, from the country of origin. The nurse was named Arsinoe by Pindar (*Pyth.* 11. 26) and Laodamia by Stesichorus (schol.). This reference to the treatment of the story by Stesichorus (in his *Orestea*) is interesting, as no one is more likely to have invented the important additions and modifications which it had received between Homer and Aeschy-

λύπη δ' ἄμισθός ἐστί σοι ξυνέμπορος;
TP. Αἴγισθον ἡ κρατοῦσα τοὺς ξένους καλεῖν 730
ὅπως τάχιστ' ἄνωγεν, ὡς σαφέστερον
ἀνὴρ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς τὴν νεάγγελτον φάτιν
ἐλθὼν πύθηται τήνδε, πρὸς μὲν οἰκέτας
θετοσκυθρωπῶν ἐντὸς ὀμμάτων γέλων

734. θέτο·σκυθρωπὸν.

lus. The loss of his voluminous poems, which appear to have been a principal repertory of legends, makes an irreparable gap in the history of Greek literature.

ib. **πατεῖς πύλας**: *tread* (*i.e.* pass) *the doorway*. **λύπη δέ**. This would in later style be a subordinate phrase '*Whither goest thou forth, with grief for thy unpaid companion?*'

730. On the dramatic function and character of the Nurse see the Introduction.—**ἡ κρατοῦσα τοὺς ξένους**: *the travellers' keeper*, literally 'she that has the travellers in her hold', an invidious description of Clytaemnestra, implying (what is in part at least the truth; see on *vv.* 711—714), that the real purpose of her pressing hospitality was to secure the persons of the 'merchants', with a view to examining them strictly as to their purpose in the country, and as to the truth of their story. This, the only possible way of construing the accusative so as to make sense, is suggested in the schol. (*ἡ τοὺς ξένους κρατοῦσα καὶ ὑποδεξαμένη*) and is not, I think, to be hastily rejected. The accusative with *κρατῶ* in this sense (*to be master of*) occurs in *Supp.* 260 *πᾶσαν αἶαν...τὸ πρὸς δύοντος ἡλίου κρατῶ* and in Soph. *O. C.* 1381 *τοὺς σοὺς θρόνους κρατοῦσιν*. To *persons* it does not seem to be elsewhere applied by the classical writers, though commonly by later writers. If Aeschylus used it so, it is a case, such as is not infrequent, of coincidence between the post-classical and the archaic.—**τοῖς ξένους**: de Pauw, and many editions. This might readily be accepted, if the results were perfectly satisfactory. But it can only mean *she bids call Aegisthus for the strangers* (not *to the strangers*, which is an incorrect use of the dative). This is, I think, a cumbrous way of speaking, and it would suggest, what does not well accord with the rest of the scene (*vv.* 712, 762 foll.), that the request for Aegisthus' presence came really from Orestes, and was merely confirmed by Clytaemnestra. However I do not profess to decide positively.—*πρὸς ξένους* Portus, *μ' ὡς ξένους* Bamberger; but neither of these is satisfactory.

734. **θετοσκυθρωπῶν...ὀμμάτων**: *eyes of pretended gloom*, Erfurdt (proposing *θετοσκυθρωπὸν*, but the epithet belongs as many have observed, rather to the *eyes* than to the *smile*), followed by Hermann, Conington, Sidgwick and others. In the compound *θετοσκυθρωπός* the word *θετός* (*pretended, assumed*) has the same relation to the whole as *ψευδής*, *ψεῦδος* in *ψευδονύμφευτος* (Euripides), a type which in later Greek became very common (see L. and Sc.). It is likely that the successors of Aeschylus in the fifth and fourth centuries would not have ventured on such a compound; it is a specimen of the quality which Aristophanes happily and humorously marks by the phrase *ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ*, 'language which seems to have been put together *with nails*'.—A possible alternative is to put a stop at *πύθηται*, and read *τὴν δὲ πρὸς μὲν οἰκέτας θέτο σκυθρωπὸν*, '*this* (the news) she pretended to her household to be gloomy news' (Weil, Wecklein), where the omission of the augment in *ἔθετο* must be excused as an adoption of the epic licence, as in the formal narra-

"language put together by nails"

κεύθουσ' ἐπ' ἔργοις διαπεπραγμένοις καλῶς
κείνῃ, δόμοις δὲ τοῖσδε παγκάκως ἔχειν
φήμης ὑφ' ἧς ἤγγειλαν οἱ ξένοι τορῶς.
ἡ δὴ κλύων ἐκεῖνον εὐφρανεῖ νόον,
εὖτ' ἂν πύθηται μῦθον. ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ·
ὡς μοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ συγκεκραμένα
ἄλγη δύσοιστα τοῖσδ' ἐν Ἀτρέως δόμοις
τυχόντ' ἐμὴν ἤλγυνεν ἐν στέρνοις φρένα,
ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδε πῆμ' ἀνεσχόμην.

tives (*ῥήσεις*) of messengers. But the other is preferable.—**μὲν**. The antithesis (*but really rejoicing*) is not formally expressed, but implied in the sequel.

735. Literally, 'which have come to pass agreeably to her, but for the household here so that they are miserable' etc.—**ἔχειν**. The deflexion of the sentence into the finite verb *ἔχει* (Robortello) would be idiomatic; but so is the text. Mr Sidgwick rightly defends *ἔχειν*.

737. **φήμης ὑφ'...ἤγγειλαν**: *i.e. ὑφ' ἧς ἤγγειλαν φήμης* or *ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης ἣν ἤγγειλαν*: cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4. 1. 23 *σὺν ᾗ εἶχε δυνάμει* (Wecklein); the relative is 'attracted' into the case of the antecedent. The disarrangement of the words emphasizes *φήμης*, 'in consequence of what *so far as report goes* they have stated unmistakeably'. The expression is not very harmonious. At *φήμης* she is trying to doubt, but at *τορῶς* relapses into conviction.—The phrase *ὑπὸ κτλ.* depends on *ἔχειν*, 'so that they (the household) are miserable under the report'. The extraordinary form of this period, which 'drags its length', like the wounded snake of Pope, is of course intentional. It belongs to the 'maundering' manner, which becomes even more conspicuous in the latter part of the speech.

738. M has the mark for a change of speaker here, and none at *v.* 730, a notable instance of the small attention which such matters received from the mediaeval student.—**κλύων ἐκεῖνον**: 'when he hears *it*' *i.e. τὸν μῦθον the story*, as she explains in the next verse, *εὖτ' ἂν πύθηται μῦθον*, annotating her own careless expression after the fashion which may be constantly observed in common and popular speech.—I think it a mistake to put on this sentence the semblance of regularity by changing *ἐκεῖνον* to *ἐκεῖνος*. It is true that the use of the pronoun *ἐκεῖνον* is incorrect; and indeed without explanation it would be unintelligible. But to a correct stylist the pleonasm *κλύων...εὖτ' ἂν πύθηται* would be not less intolerable. The false pronoun and the repetition correspond, and account for each other.—**εὐφρανεῖ νόον**: *will bid his heart rejoice*: cf. *θυμὸν τεὸν εὔφρανας* Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 3. (Wecklein.)

740. **συγκεκραμένα ἄλγη**: *mingled woes, i.e.* 'many and various', *ἡ κρεουργία τοῦ Θυέστου παίδων καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος θάνατος* (schol.), in fact the whole history of the house.—Some take *συγκεκραμένα μοι* for 'affecting me', but the analogies cited (Soph. *Ant.* 1311 *συγκέκραμαι δύᾳ*, id. *Ai.* 895, Aristoph. *Plut.* 853) do not fully prove that this use was possible, and the arrangement of the sentence is strongly against it here.—Note again the redundant and trailing form of expression, *μοι...ἐμὴν, τοῖσδ'...Ἀτρέως, ἐν στέρνοις φρένα*.

743. **ἀνεσχόμην**. The double augment *ἠνεσχόμην* was established as regular in Attic. But in a poet irregularity on such points is to be expected. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 687 *σὺ δ' οὐκ ἀνέσχου*.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τλημόνως ἤντλουν κακά·
φίλον δ' Ὀρέστην, τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς τριβήν, 745
ὃν ἐξέθρεψα μητρόθεν δεδεγμένη,...
καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτων ὀρθίων κελευμάτων...
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μοχθήρ'...ἀνωφέλητ' ἐμοὶ
τλάσῃ...—τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν γὰρ ὡσπερεὶ βοτὸν
τρέφειν ἀνάγκη, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; τρόπῳ φρενός. 750
οὐ γάρ τι φωνεῖ παῖς ἔτ' ὢν ἐν σπαργάνοις·

749. ὥπερει.

744. **τλημόνως ἤντλουν.** 'I got through them by patience'. For τλήμων see *Ag.* 1301.

745. **φίλον δ' Ὀρέστην.** The acc. is provisional, cf. *v.* 672. The sentence wanders off in broken exclamations and is never grammatically finished. The sense ('Ὀρέστην τεθνηκότ' οὐκ ἀνέχομαι Wecklein) is given in effect at *v.* 759.—**τῆς... τριβήν**: lit. 'the occupation of my soul', or 'business of my being' *i.e.* 'the babe on whom I spent myself'.

746. **μητρόθεν**: *i.e.* as soon as born, from the womb.

747. **κελευμάτων** *μάντις οὖσα, εἶχον ἀνωφέλητον πόνον* is the meaning projected, 'and had to divine his inarticulate cries, to my great (and alas, useless!) trouble'. But the relative clause, *ὃν ἐξέθρεψα* κτλ., is broken off like the main sentence by sobs and exclamations: it is resumed practically in sense, though not in construction, at *v.* 754.—To construct the genitive *κελευμάτων* with **πολλὰ** ...*ἀνωφέλητα* is, as Mr Sidgwick says, not really legitimate; and in fact *κελευμάτων* here is left as much 'in the air' as Ὀρέστην in *v.* 745. But we need not therefore substitute *κἀκ* for *καὶ*, *ἔτλην* for *τλάσῃ*, etc. It is enough in such a passage, if we get the meaning from the whole, and can see, as each phrase comes, what relation it has to the thought, and what construction it might have had, if the thought were grammatically carried out. Compare the speech of the Herald in the *Agamemnon* (508 foll.). These two tentative essays, in a style which makes a compromise between poetic dignity and realistic irregularity, have much in common, and show that Athenian tragedy, if Aeschylus had retained the control of it, would probably have had a very different development.

748. *And ever so much trouble...not that I got any good of it...For* etc. It is impossible to explain by the rules of syntax these scarcely articulate cries. But note that **γὰρ**, so far as it refers to one word rather than another, refers to *ὀρθίων κελευμάτων*.

749—750. *For the infant that cannot think you must needs of course rear, like an animal, by the method of intelligence,* or, reading **τόπῳ**, *by guessing its mind.* As to **τρόπῳ** or **τόπῳ** see Appendix I. § 20.—**ὡσπερεὶ**. The reading of M points to **ὥπερεὶ**, or rather is **ὥπερεἰ**, for the omission of the *iota* occurs incessantly and is not worth consideration. I believe **ὥπερεὶ** to be right, literally 'by the same by which you would rear an animal, *viz.* guess of its mind'. In principle *ὡσπερεί* is on the same footing as *οἷονεί* or *ὡσπερεί*, that is, all are in point of logic equally incorrect. This passage indicates that, as we should suppose, popular language gave a wide range to the irregularity, which fixed itself to a limited extent in classical usage. However as the point is of little importance, I print the common reading.

751. **οὐ...τι φωνεῖ**: literally 'does not say a particular thing'. The baby

ἢ λιμὸς ἢ δίψη τις ἢ λιψουρία
ἔχει, νέα δὲ νηδὺς αὐτάρκης τέκνων—
τούτων πρόμαντις οὖσα, πολλὰ δ', οἶομαι,
ψευσθεῖσα, παιδὸς σπαργάνων φαιδρύντρια, 755
γναφεὺς στροφεύς τε ταὐτὸν εἰχέτην τέλος·
ἐγὼ διπλᾶς δὲ τάσδε χειρωναξίας
ἔχουσ' Ὀρέστην ἐξεδεξάμην πατρί,

φωνεῖ (it has a *φωνή*) but *οὐ φωνεῖ τι*: its cry does not express anything definite. It has but one language for all needs. The rendering 'does not speak' is not quite accurate and has caused difficulty in the next line.

752. **ἢ...ἔχει**: *what is distressing it* (when it cries) *may be either hunger, or thirst perhaps, or other need*, but you cannot say which. For **τις** cf. Soph. *O. C.* 95 ἢ σεισμὸν ἢ βροντήν τιν' ἢ Διὸς σέλας, *Ag.* 55 ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων ἢ Πὰν ἢ Ζεύς.—For the form **δίψη** (instead of *δίψᾳ*) there is no other authority, but the analogy of *πείνη-πεῖνα* supports it.—This verse is generally taken as a question dependent on *φωνεῖ*. In that case the question arises whether ἢ...ἢ could stand in an Attic writer for *whether...or* (see on *v.* 889). Stanley, to restore the normal form, proposed *εἰ λιμὸς ἢ δίψη τις*, and others to get rid of the irregular *δίψη*, read ἢ λιμὸς ἢ δίψ' εἴ τις construed as *εἰ ἢ λιμὸς ἢ δίψα τις* κτλ. But with the foregoing explanation of *v.* 751, this may stand as an independent sentence, and, being merely an explanation of *οὔ τι φωνεῖ* in other words, requires no copula. —**ἔχει** (*αὐτόν*): *grips it*, is distressing it.

753. **νέα...τέκνων**. This relates of course solely to *λιψουρία*. It would be expressed in prose-style by a subordinate clause 'in which case nature in the infant helps itself'.

754. **τούτων**: *i.e.* *κελευμάτων*, its cries or the needs they expressed. See on *v.* 747.—**οἶομαι**, *I trow*, implies in Greek idiom assurance, not doubt.

756. *Fuller and swaddler shared one office*: it was a case of two trades in one person. The sentence is again grammatically inconsequent; it should have ended '*I* had to be fuller as well as swaddler'. Possibly *v.* 756 is, or imitates, a known and popular tag; at least this would account for the way in which it is brought in.—**στροφεύς**: *swaddler, nurse*, from *στρόφος*, *swathing-band* (*σπάργανον*), for which see L. and Sc. *s. v.* There seems to be no reason at all for changing this word, as is usually done, into *τροφεύς* (Robortello). It is correctly formed, cf. *χαλκεύς*, *ἱππεύς* etc.; and the context explains the meaning of it unmistakeably. The fact that it is rare in any sense, and elsewhere unknown in this, only increases the improbability that it would have expelled *τροφεύς*, had this been the original.

757. "The expression in the preceding line had been general, so the nurse here applies it to herself" Conington.—**ἐγὼ διπλᾶς δέ**. Note that the effect of this arrangement is to throw together the words *ἐγὼ διπλᾶς*, which contain the point 'two trades in my one person'.

758. **ἐξεδεξάμην**. Here at last she works round again to the point which she had reached at *v.* 746 and puts into words (*v.* 759) the thought which has been in her mind from the first.—**πατρί**. The construction of *δέχεσθαι* with the dative (*receive at* a person instead of *receive from*, cf. *ὠνεῖσθαι τινί*) was archaic (*Il.* 2. 186, 15. 87); and probably survived, like other such, in popular language. Still Paley seems right in saying that the meaning here, to an Athenian

τεθνηκότος δὲ νῦν τάλαινα πεύθομαι.
στείχω δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρα τῶνδε λυμαντήριον 760
οἴκων, θέλων δὲ τῶνδε πεύσεται λόγων.
ΧΟ. πῶς οὖν κελεύει νιν μολεῖν; ἐσταλμένον;

760. στείχων.

ear in the time of Aeschylus, would not be quite the same as if πατρὸς had been written. The child was received *for* as well as *from* the father, as the father's *trust*. The substitution of Agamemnon for Clytaemnestra in the reminiscence (contrast *v.* 746) is exquisitely natural and telling. But it would be impertinent to dilate on all the merits of the picture. —ἐξεθρεψάμην (Portus) would scarcely be admissible; it should be ἐξέθρεψα. The schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔθρεψα, ἀπέσωσα is a rough explanation of ἐξεδεξάμην. The last word indeed looks like an allusion to the version of the story in which the nurse *saves* Orestes at Agamemnon's death. Possibly the writer forgot that this is not the version of Aeschylus.

760. στείχων M, a blundering accommodation to θέλων δέ, on the supposition that ἄνδρα is 'the merchant'. See *vv.* 731—732.—λυμαντήριον...θέλων δὲ κτλ. The last clause is a comment on λυμαντήριον (cf. *v.* 753). We should say 'But he to whom I go is the destroyer of this house, and will be glad to hear of this tale'.

761. τῶνδε πεύσεται λόγων: 'will *hear of* this report' *i.e.* will learn that it has been received.—τόνδε...λόγον: 'will hear this news'. Blomfield and others. Conington retains the text.

762. *How then is he to come? Without state?* ἐσταλμένον: 'without his state' or 'discarding his state', *i.e.* with only the common attendance of a private person. The simple verb στέλλω is here used, as elsewhere by the poets, in the sense more fully expressed by the compound συστέλλω. For ἐσταλμένον, which is here the opposite of ὠγκωμένον (*in state*), a prose-writer would have put ξυνεσταλμένον. The word ὄγκος (*bulk*) was regularly used for *pride*, *pomp*, *state*, particularly in an invidious sense, as *e.g.* in Eur. *El.* 381 οὔτ' ἐν Ἀργείοις μέγας, οὔτ' αὖ δοκήσει δωμάτων ὠγκωμένος, *Hec.* 623 εἶτα δῆτ' ὀγκούμεθα, ὁ μέν τις ἡμῶν πλουσίοις ἐν δώμασιν κτλ., *frag.* 82 ἐς ὄγκον ἄνω βλέπειν τύχης. Conversely συστέλλειν, literally *to contract* or *reduce in size*, was used for reduction or diminution in *pride* or *state*. See Eur. *H.F.* 1417 and examples in L. and Sc. *s. vv.* συστέλλειν, συνεσταλμένως. Both the correlatives occur in Eur. *Tro.* 108 ὦ πολὺς ὄγκος ξυστελλομένων προγόνων (or, as some would read, ξυστελλόμενος) *Alas, for the high state of my diminished* (*humbled*) *ancestry!* Aegisthus, as a τύραννος or despot prince, would commonly have been surrounded, both for dignity and safety, with the appurtenances of state, and particularly, on an occasion of importance or suspicion, with the most hateful of all things in Hellenic and Athenian eyes, *an armed body-guard*. But the maid-servants hope that, for the reason which they themselves presently suggest (*v.* 767) Clytaemnestra may have requested him on this occasion to come ξυνεσταλμένος, *with reduced state*, with less than his usual attendance, and in particular without the guard. The simple στέλλειν for συστέλλειν *to contract*, *reduce* occurs *e.g.* in Eur. *Bacch.* 669 πότερά σοι παρρησίᾳ φράσω τὰ κεῖθεν, ἢ λόγον στειλώμεθα; and often in poetry (see L. and Sc. *s. v.*). In this particular sense and connexion the simple verb is not elsewhere found; but we should suppose from analogy that it could be so used in poetry, especially archaic poetry, and this passage shows that it was.—This verse is commonly punctuated as one sen-

ΤΡ. ἦ πῶς; λέγ' αὖθις, ὡς μάθω σαφέστερον.
ΧΟ. ἢ ξὺν λοχίταις, εἴτε καὶ μονοστιβῆ.
ΤΡ. ἄγειν κελεύει δορυφόρους ὀπάονας. 765
ΧΟ. μή νυν σὺ ταῦτ' ἄγγελλε δεσπότου στύγει·

tence, *How arrayed is he to come?* But this cannot be right, as it is inconsistent with the turn of the following verses.—*V.* 763, as it stands, implies (1) by the form of the question (ἦ πῶς;), that the previous speaker has suggested one alternative, and (2) by ὡς μάθω σαφέστερον, that some expression has been used, which is ambiguous and admits of misunderstanding. The sense here put upon *v.* 762 satisfies both requirements.

763—764. ἦ πῶς; *i.e.* ἑσταλμένον ἢ πῶς; The interlocutor (see *v.* 762) has suggested ἑσταλμένον as one possible answer to the question πῶς κελεύει νιν μολεῖν; This implies that she has in her mind another possible answer. By ἑσταλμένον; she must mean ἑσταλμένον ἢ (ἄλλως πως); and does as a fact mean ἑσταλμένον ἢ ξὺν λοχίταις; The nurse, who does not quite catch the word or its import, asks first 'What is the ἄλλως πως?' the implied opposite of ἑσταλμένον, and then adds, putting her doubt directly, 'Tell me more plainly what you mean'. The other answers her on both points in the same order, first giving the implied opposite (ἢ ξὺν λοχίταις), and then repeating, with a slight modification, the sense of ἑσταλμένον.—The logic and connexion of these lines is destroyed by the common reading of *v.* 762, and accordingly attempts have been made to correct each of them, in *v.* 763 ὅπως; Schütz, τί πῶς; Canter, πῶς φῂς; Valckenaer, ἦ πῶς; Wellauer, and in *v.* 764 (since ἢ... εἴτε as a dependent question, *whether...or*, is doubtful in an Attic writer) εἰ σὺν λοχίταις Turnebus and many texts. But none are satisfactory. In *v.* 763, the proper form, in an answer to πῶς οὖν κελεύει νιν μολεῖν ἑσταλμένον; (so punctuated), would be, as Schütz suggests, ὅπως; *Do you say how?* But this is not likely to have been corrupted into ἦ πῶς; In *v.* 764 εἰ, though tolerable, is not logically correct. The proper form (*ex hypothesi*) would be ξὺν λοχίταις ἢ μονοστιβῆ; or πότερον ξὺν λοχίταις ἢ μονοστιβῆ;

764. *Or with soldiers, I mean. Or perhaps even alone?* This passage, as the foregoing will show, does not involve the question as to the admission in Attic writers of ἢ...ἢ for *whether...or* in a dependent question (see on *v.* 889). If it did, the correction εἰ (see above) would certainly be justified; for if ἦ...ἢ in this sense is doubtful, ἢ...εἴτε is more doubtful still (Kühner *Greek Grammar* § 587. 22). But here *whether* is not wanted or admissible, neither is there any dependent question. ἢ ξὺν λοχίταις is not the first branch of a dependent question, but the *second* branch of a *simple alternative*, the first being ἑσταλμένον: and ἢ therefore is necessary. εἴτε καὶ μονοστιβῆ is a third branch of the alternative, or rather (see above) a modified repetition of the first branch. It means all that ἑσταλμένον means, and more.

765. Clytaemnestra, as we should expect, had suggested the fullest precaution, not only attendants, but soldiers.

766. δεσπότου στύγει: causal, *out of hatred to thy master*, 'hating him as thou dost'. Or δεσπότου στύγει = τῷ στυγουμένῳ δεσπότῃ, *to thy detested master*, δεσπότου being then gen. of equivalent or definition, and στύγος *object of hatred*. Conington gives both explanations as tenable, preferring the second (Stanley's). I prefer the first (with Wecklein): ἄγγελλε στύγει δεσπότου might bear Stanley's interpretation; but, with the genitive preceding, it is so natural to take στύγος in its common sense, that the other could

ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἀδειμάντως κλύῃ,
ἄνωχθ'...ὅσον τάχιστα...γαθούσῃ φρενί—
[ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτὸς ὀρθούσῃ φρενί]

only occur to the mind as an afterthought, and would make a phrase too obscure to be understood.—**μὴ...ταῦτ' ἄγγελε... ἀλλὰ** κτλ. The negative falls on *ταῦτα*. *Change the message into this, that* etc.

767. **αὐτὸν**: *by himself, alone.*—Read perhaps **ὡς ἀδειμάντων κλύῃ** (Hartung) *that he may not terrify the reporter*, lit. 'that he may have an unterrified (person) to listen to'. For the plural cf. *v.* 685. The suggestion, which the nurse is to make, is that, if the soldiers came, 'the merchant', who would speak frankly to Aegisthus alone, might be frightened into reserve and equivocation. This correction, though little considered, shows a right view of the sense, and is perhaps necessary to the expression of it. The clause **ὡς ἀδειμάντως κλύῃ** is commonly taken as depending on **ἄγγελε**, *in order that he* (*Aegisthus*) *may hear thee* (*the nurse*) *without alarm*. But it must depend on **ἐλθεῖν**, and must be part of the proposed message. This appears (1) from the order of the words and the run of the verse, and (2) still more clearly from the sense. For surely the message **αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν** requires the addition of a motive, if only to avoid suspicion. It would have been better to say nothing about the soldiers either way, and to take the chance that Aegisthus might see no reason for bringing them, than to tell him, as if from Clytaemnestra, *not* to bring them, and leave him to ask 'Why not?' The form of expression is natural in Greek, which does not require, as English commonly does, that the predicative emphasis should be thrown on to the verb of the sentence, and in which **κλύειν** *to receive a statement* is the regular correlative of **λέγειν**.—It may however be questioned whether **ὡς ἀδειμάντως κλύῃ** *that he may hear without alarm* is not used loosely in the sense *that he may hear without alarming*. I do not think this impossible by any means, especially when we consider the speaker and the style of the scene.

768. **ὅσον τάχιστα** constructed with **ἄνωχθι** (according to the order) not with **ἐλθεῖν**. The nurse hesitates and the other bids her make haste. (Sidgwick.) Haste is important; for if there were any more delay, Clytaemnestra might despatch a second and less corruptible messenger.—**γαθούσῃ φρενί** is variously referred (see Conington) to Aegisthus (connecting with **ἐλθεῖν**), and to the nurse (with **ἄνωχθι**). The first is possible, but with Mr Sidgwick I decidedly prefer the second, mainly on the ground, that an encouraging hint from the chorus to the nurse is natural in the circumstances, whereas there could be little point and some suspicion in the words, as part of the pretended message from Clytaemnestra. They are not such as Clytaemnestra could with decency or prudence have put into a communication sent through a servant (see *v.* 733).—**τάχιστα γαθούσῃ** Turn. *τάχιστ' ἀγαθούσῃ* M. Note the *α* in *γαθούσῃ*, which though not properly Attic, may well have been justified, by literary association, in this particular phrase.

769. **κυπτὸς** Blomfield, **ὀρθοῦται λόγος** Musgrave (and Porson): see Appendix I. § 21. *It lies with the messenger to put a bowed* (*i.e.* crooked, distorted) *message straight*, an expression signifying, that to carry and explain a message properly requires intelligence in the messenger. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 15. 207 *ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται, ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἴσιμα εἰδῇ*. It might be here applied, with a certain irony, to the message of Clytaemnestra, which will be wonderfully 'corrected' in the transit.—**ἐν ἀγγέλῳ**. Peile compares Thuc. 7. 8 *τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην μηδὲν ἐν ἀγγέλῳ ἀφανισθεῖσαν, his meaning not lost in the mouth of the messenger*, and Wecklein Soph. *Ai.*

ΤΡ. ἀλλ' ἦ φρονεῖς εὖ; τοῖσι νῦν ἠγγελμένοις; 770
ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εἰ τροπαίαν Ζεὺς κακῶν θήσει ποτέ.
ΤΡ. καὶ πῶς; Ὀρέστης ἐλπὶς οἴχεται δόμων.
ΧΟ. οὔπω· κακός γε μάντις ἂν γνοίη τάδε.
ΤΡ. τί φής; ἔχεις τι τῶν λελεγμένων δίχα;
ΧΟ. ἄγγελλ' ἰοῦσα, πρᾶσσε τἀπεσταλμένα· 775
μέλει θεοῖσιν ὥνπερ ἂν μέλῃ πέρι.
ΤΡ. ἀλλ' εἶμι καὶ σοῖς ταῦτα πείσομαι λόγοις.
γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα σὺν θεῶν δόσει.
strophe 1. ΧΟ. νῦν παραιτουμένᾳ μοι, πάτερ

779. παραιτουμεν' ἐμοὶ.

1136 ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κοὐκ ἐμοὶ τόδ' ἐσφάλη, *this failure came by the judges, not by me.*

770. *But are you really sane? At the present tidings? i.e.* 'I am to *rejoice* at the present tidings!' τοῖσι νῦν ἠγγελμένοις: the news of Orestes' death. The dative is the ordinary causal dative with verbs 'of pleasure and displeasure'; and the question or rather both questions refer to γαθούσῃ φρενί, *with heart rejoicing*, which to the nurse is naturally incomprehensible. —The true meaning of this verse is instantly apparent if *v.* 769 is disregarded; and this is one of the strongest reasons for supposing that verse to be spurious (see App. I. § 21). But in any case *v.* 770 must be taken as above. The MS. gives it as one sentence (ἀλλ' ἦ φρονεῖς εὖ τοῖσι νῦν ἠγγελμένοις;): but this has no legitimate sense. There appears to be no authority for taking εὖ φρονεῖς as equivalent to χαίρεις (schol.) or εὐφραίνου, and if a phrase so familiar could bear an exceptional sense (which is perhaps conceivable), it would be necessary that the context should give more help than it does here.—φρονεῖς εὖ τοῖσιν ἐντεταλμένοις; Wecklein: *Do you mean well by these instructions?* This is correct both in grammar and sense: but the change is, I think, unnecessary.

771. *But what if Zeus means at last to change this misery?* τροπαίαν: properly a change of wind or weather, see on *Ag.* 229. Cf. Eur. *El.* 1147 ἀμοιβαὶ κακῶν· μετάτροποι πνέουσιν αὖραι δόμων. (Conington.)

774. *Dost thou know anything distinct from what we have been told? i.e.* the statement of 'the merchant'. ἔχεις τι; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 9.

779—836. Before entering upon the details of this ode, it is necessary to state clearly an all-important question: Are we to assume that the metrical construction of it was systematic, and if so, to what extent?

Of the many attempts which have been made to cast the whole into a system one only has sufficient evidence to deserve attention. *Ephymnia* or *burdens*, repeated like our modern 'choruses' after both *strophe* and *antistrophe*, occur certainly in the *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*, probably in the next ode of this play (*v.* 934 foll.). It has been suggested (first apparently by G. C. W. Scheider), that this ode should be divided into three pairs of *strophae*, each pair having a distinct *ephymnium*. The three *ephymnia* must be found in *vv.* 785—789, *vv.* 802—807, *vv.* 823—828, passages of which none can without extreme violence be brought into metrical correspondence with any other part of the text. It remains to find the *strophae*.

With the first pair there is no difficulty: *vv.* 779—784 and *vv.* 790—795 do in the

Ζεῦ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων, 780
δὸς τύχας τυχεῖν δόμου κυρίως
τὰ σωφρόσυν' εὖ μαιομένοις ἰδεῖν.
†διαδικᾶσαι πᾶν ἔπος
ἔλακον. Ζεῦ, σὺ δέ νιν φυλάσσοις.—

781. δέ μου.

MS. approximate closely to correspondence: and the '*ephymnium*' (*vv.* 785—789) can at least naturally, and without interruption of the sense, be repeated in the place required. But here the evidence for the theory ends. In the third section the *strophe* should be *vv.* 815—822, the *antistrophe vv.* 829—836. These passages have certainly in outline some metrical resemblance: but they cannot be made correspondent, even on the most elastic theory of 'correspondence', without introducing changes which have no other warrant than the assumption of the fact to be proved. Nor does the supposed *ephymnium* offer any support. On the contrary, to repeat it after the '*antistrophe*' produces a breach of connexion. Still less manageable is the second section, where in fact the theory altogether breaks down. The first three lines of the section do indeed correspond to three lines in another part (*vv.* 796—798, 808—110). But to these triplets succeed passages which exhibit neither metrical resemblance nor trace of corruption: while the '*ephymnium*' is strictly bound in sense to the place where it stands, and cannot without dislocation be repeated anywhere else (see on *v.* 814).

Other systems are even less demonstrable. The *prima facie* testimony of the facts, beyond which we cannot proceed, is that the ode is not cast in a system at all, but consists in great part of free recitative. We have no right to assert *a priori* that such a thing could not occur in a proper place: and there are reasons (see the Introduction) for which it might be thought that this place is proper. However I would affirm neither this nor any conclusion on the matter. I have marked as *strophae* only those parts which in the MS. actually correspond as closely as undoubted *strophae* commonly do, and the rest I have left undistributed, admitting of course only such corrections as have evidence irrespective of metre. As to some metrical details in the *strophae* see Appendix II.

779—782. 'Now at my prayer, O Zeus, grant what we long to see, *the return of the house to the good old way*'. Cf. *Ag.* 18 οἶκον τοῦδε συμφορὰν...οὐχ ὡς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένου, and see *inf.* 967.—**δόμου** (for δέ μου, Bothe, Conington) is the least change that will give a construction, 'grant success (**τύχας τυχεῖν**) to those who desire happily to see the good discipline (**τὰ σωφρόσυνα**) of the house established'.—*τὰ σώφρον'* Hermann: but there is a *prima facie* presumption in favour of the exceptional form *σωφρόσυνος.*—**παραιτουμένῳ** Turn. Herm. *παραιτουμέν' ἐμοὶ* M.—**εὖ**: perhaps *αὖ?*

783—784. 'It is a just prayer; do thou, Zeus, regard it': reading and interpretation uncertain. Schol. *δικαίως*, and *κατὰ δίκαν, ὃ ἐστι κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον*, pointing (if they are to be trusted) to *διὰ δίκας* or (Hermann) *κὰδ δίκαν*. But no adequate explanation has been suggested for *πᾶν ἔπος*: from which we should infer that the speakers have used some (religious?) formula.—**φυλάσσοις**: 'observe' or 'watch' it with a view to accomplishment.

ἦ ἔ. πρὸ δὲ δὴ ἐχθρῶν
τὸν ἔσω μελάθρων, ὦ Ζεῦ,
θές, ἐπεί μιν μέγαν ἄρας
δίδυμα καὶ τριπλᾶ
παλίμποινα θέλων ἀμείψει.—
antistr. 1. ἴσθι δ' ἀνδρὸς φίλου πῶλον εὖ-
νιν ζυγέντ' ἐν ἅρματι
πημάτων (ἐν δρόμῳ προστιθεὶς

787. *δίρασ.*

785—789. 'Prefer (the cause of) Orestes to (that of) his and thy enemies; for if thou exalt him, his gratitude will richly reward thee'. **πρὸ...ἐχθρῶν...θές**: *προθὲς ἐχθρῶν.*—**τὸν**: *τῶν* M, *τὸν Ὀρέστην* schol.—**ἄρας** M, with ι over erasure.—**θέλων ἀμείψει**: 'thou canst at pleasure obtain', 'wilt obtain for wishing'. The point of this expression is, that by not assisting in the re-establishment of a house devoted to his especial honour (see *vv.* 254—261) Zeus will wilfully forego the worship which *it rests but with him* to secure.—Others take *ἀμείψει* as act. 3rd pers. with Orestes for subject (*he will willingly repay*). Such a change of subject (the so-called 'nominative pendent') is not uncommon, and very natural sometimes; but it cannot be made so late in the clause. Thus *ἐπεί μιν μέγαν ἄρας, θυτὴρ θέλων δίδυμα ἀμείψει* would be intelligible, if harsh; but here, down to **παλίμποινα** we must suppose that the subject is *Zeus*, and to change it at the last moment would have the effect, as it seems, of a grammatical 'sell', or joke *παρὰ προσδοκίαν.*—**μιν**: *v.* 620, *Theb.* 440.

790—795: 'Remember by what afflictions Orestes has been driven to the deed he is about to do, (and regard it with just indulgence). His goal is before him. Who would demand a perfect movement from a horse that is racing for the finish?' —**ἴσθι**: *Know, i.e. note.* The common form of solemn appeal, *ἴστω Ζεύς* (*let Zeus know, i.e.* 'let Zeus note and witness') becomes naturally, when addressed to Zeus himself, *ἴσθι*. We need not therefore suspect the phrase on the ground that the deity does not need information. —**ἀνδρὸς** (*σοὶ*) **φίλου** (Agamemnon) **πῶλον εὔνιν** (Orestes): cf. *vv.* 245—262.—**ἅρματι**: *ἄρμασι* schol., *ἅρμασιν* Hermann. —**ἐν δρόμῳ** (*in a race* or *race-course*) is emphatic, *δρόμος* having its full and proper sense.—**τίς ἂν σφιγόμενον ῥυθμὸν** (*προστιθείη*); lit. 'Who, fixing the pace (of his horse) *in a race*, would impose (on him) the keeping of rhythm?' The charioteer in a race *προστίθησι μέτρον* (*moderatur*) *τῷ ἵππῳ*, controls and regulates the pace of his horse; but will not expect of him (least of all in the *finish* of a race) the elegant and even movement (*ῥυθμός*), which may and should be enforced in an ordinary exercise or performance for show. Just so the gods, who by the destiny given to the Pelopidae have put Orestes in a position so widely different from that of ordinary men, may be asked now, in the crisis of his fate, to permit and bless an action, which in common circumstances would be a horrible crime. As the deed draws near, even the chorus begin to feel the awful responsibility which it involves, and to plead more humbly as well as more urgently for the favour of heaven.—For the ellipse of the verb cf. Soph. *El.* 1434 *νῦν, τὰ πρὶν εὖ θέμενοι, τάδ' ὡς πάλιν* (sc. *εὖ θῆσθε*), Eur. *Or.* 644 *χρήματ', ἢν ψυχὴν ἐμὴν σώσῃς* (sc. *σώσεις*), and see on *Theb.* 2.—**σφιγόμενον**

μέτρον, τίς ἂν σφζόμενον ῥυθμόν ;)
τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν δάπεδον
ἀνομένων βημάτων ὄρεγμα ;— 795
str. 2. οἵ τ' ἔσωθε δωμάτων
πλουτογαθῆ μυχὸν νομίζετε,
κλύετε, σύμφρονες θεοί—
ἄγετε, τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων
λύσασθ' αἷμα προσφάτοις δίκαις· 800
γέρων φόνος μηκέτ' ἐν δόμοις τέκοι·
τὸ δὲ καλῶς κτάμενον, ὦ

797. πλουταγαθῆ. 800. προφάτοις, corr. m.

ῥυθμόν *the observing of rhythm.* See *Theb.* 611, *Ag.* 115. This use of the participle and substantive is in Greek poetical, and comparatively rare, whereas in Latin it was always normal. Here *τίς προστιθείη ἂν σφζόμενον ῥυθμόν;* is an exact verbal equivalent of *quis adhibeat servandum rhythmum?*—**τοῦτο**...**ὄρεγμα**: ...*sees in the ground before him the stretch of his finishing steps, i.e.* 'is at the finish of the race and has the goal in view'. The subject is **πῶλον**, and the inf. **ἰδεῖν** follows **ἴσθι**, as in other places where **ἴσθι** signifies emphatic asseveration, cf. *sup.* 572, Soph. *Phil.* 1329, Kühner *Gk. Grammar* § 484. 7.—**δάπεδον**. So **πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα** *P. V.* 855, where see Paley's note. I agree with him, that the existence of **δάπεδον**, with **ᾰ**, in itself no less possible than **γάπεδον**, is not disproved by the fact that other poets use **δᾰ́πεδον**. However either **γάπεδον** or **διὰ πέδου** may here be right.—The above punctuation, making **ἐν δρόμῳ**...**ῥυθμόν** a parenthesis, solves, I hope, the difficulty of the passage. The ellipse also wanted explanation. If we divide the whole, as is commonly done, into two sentences at **μέτρον**, it is impossible to construe it at all without bold alterations, nor has any satisfactory reading been proposed. With regard to the general sense, and the neglected antithesis of **μέτρον** and **ῥυθμός**, upon which it hinges, it is to be remembered that the performance of *exercises for show*, both athletic and equestrian, was far more familiar and important in Greek life, than it is with us now. The nobility and gentry of the sixteenth or seventeenth century would have caught the notion more easily.

797. **πλουτογαθῆ** Turnebus.—**νομίζετε**: *inhabit.*—**ἐνίζετε** Hermann, reading **ἐπιφορώτατος** in *v.* 809.

799—801. See the preliminary note to this ode. These three verses cannot be made to answer, in the usual manner, to *vv.* 811—814 without completely rewriting one passage or both; while at the same time *in neither place does the sense, apart from the metre, show any trace of corruption.*

799. **τῶν**...**πεπραγμένων**: neuter; cf. *Ag.* 1183 **ἴχνος κακῶν**...**τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων** (Klausen).

800. **λύσασθε**: *cause to be done away* or *expiated*, cf. Soph. *O. T.* 100 **φόνου φόνῳ πάλιν λύσοντας**. The causative middle is used here "as the gods are to bring about the expiation by human hands" (Conington).

801. 'Since the blood-curse is *old*, let it cease to bear its progeny of crimes'.

802—807. *And for them that fell with glory, do thou, who hast the great Portal, grant that they may look up unhindered to the house of our hero, and that their loving eyes may behold its brightness freed from the veil of gloom.* The power, who holds

μέγα ναίων στόμιον, εὖ
δὸς ἀνιδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός
καί νιν ἐλευθερίως
λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φιλίοις
ὄμμασι δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας·—
antistr. 2. ξυλλάβοι δ' ἐνδίκως
παῖς ὁ Μαίας, ἐπεὶ φορώτατος

806. λαμπρῶς. 809. ἐπιφορώτατος.

the passage between the living and the dead, is asked to permit that the great warriors from whom Orestes descends (the προσθόδομοι Ἀτρεῖδαι of *v.* 321, the καλῶς θανόντες of *v.* 354) may be conscious of his enterprise, may bless it with their sympathy, and may rejoice in its success. In a similar spirit Pindar often prays that the tidings of a victory may be permitted to reach the dead relatives of the victor, *especially those who have themselves won honour* (*Ol.* 8. 74—84, 14. 20, etc.): the first passage illustrates the natural transition (*inf.* 808) from this thought to the invocation of Hermes, messenger between the two worlds.—**τὸ καλῶς κτάμενον**: for τοὺς καλῶς κταμένους, cf. Herod. 7. 209 εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεαι (for τοὺς ὑπομένοντας), Thuc. 8. 66 ὁρῶν πολὺ τὸ ξυνεστηκὸς (for πολλοὺς τοὺς ξυνεστῶτας) etc. (Kühner *Gr. Gramm.* § 347. 3). The ancestors who have died gloriously (*i.e.* in battle) are specially mentioned both because of the contrast between their fate and that of the murdered (*vv.* 799—801: see the passages of this play just cited) and because their spirits would best sympathize with the bravery of their descendant.—**εὖ μέγα ναίων στόμιον**: ὦ Ἄιδη schol., rightly, except that no name need be put to the description, which is complete in itself. The phrase is *suggested* by such supposed openings into the underworld as that of Taenarus (χθόνιον Ἄιδα στόμα Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 44), but must not be narrowed by local definition. There is only one 'great portal' for all men, and that is the one which is meant.—**ἀνδρός**, *the hero*, must refer to Orestes, the general theme of the ode, not to Agamemnon. For the covert manner of the allusion compare τὸν ἔσω μελάθρων in *v.* 786.—**λαμπρὸν**: λαμπρῶς M, a false interpretation, arising from the supposition that the subject of ἰδεῖν is νιν: **νιν** (δόμον) is the object, and λαμπρὸν predicate, 'see it bright'.—**καλύπτρας** depends upon **ἐλευθερίως λαμπρὸν**. From such familiar constructions as ἐλεύθερος τυραννίδος and καθαρὸς μιασμάτων it is an easy step to ἐλευθερίως λαμπρὸν καλύπτρας, 'bright with liberation from the gloomy veil' of tyranny.—The key to this passage is the correct interpretation of τὸ καλῶς κτάμενον. For further discussion, particularly on the conjecture κτίμενον, see App. I. § 22.

808—814. 'And let Hermes aid, as we may expect that he will, the god of artifice, who has equal power to explain —and to make obscure'. Hermes, here as throughout, patronises the deed both as ψυχοπομπός and as δόλιος. The first aspect connects him with the previous thought, the second is expanded in what follows.

808. **ἐνδίκως**: 'naturally', 'as belongs to him'.

809. **ἐπεὶ** Emper.—**φορώτατος** (ἐστι) **θέλων**: 'mightiest, when he will, to speed accomplishment'. The metaphor both in φορός and in οὔριος (see L. and Sc. *s. vv.*) is that of a favourable wind.—**πρᾶ-**

πρᾶξιν οὐρίαν θέλων.— 810
πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα φανεῖ χρῄζων
κρύπτ'· ἄσκοπον δ' ἔπος λέγων
νύκτα πρό τ' ὀμμάτων σκότον φέρει,
καθ' ἡμέραν δ' οὐδὲν ἐμφανέστερος.
καὶ τότε δὴ πλόου 815

810. θέλεν, -ων m. 815—816. πλοῦτον | δωμάτων.

ξιν οὐρίαν depends on the verbal adj. φορός (= δυνατὸς ἐπιφέρειν), cf. *v.* 23 χοὰς προπομπός and note (Klausen). I do not feel this construction to be difficult, and would not therefore change οὐρίαν to οὐρίσαι (Conington).—θέλων (*i.e.* ἢν θέλῃ, ὅταν θέλῃ) is, as the position shows, important to the connexion with what follows. In the present case it is the will of Hermes to aid, as he has already proved.

811. 'Often, at his pleasure, he will clear the most obscure; but when he means not to be comprehended, he offers to men's eyes the darkness of very night, and even daylight makes him no plainer'. —Twice has Orestes been befriended by the hermeneutic Power of speech, to whom it belongs not only to enlighten but also to deceive, once when Clytaemnestra did not detect the falsehood of his story, and once, more conspicuously, when the dream of the night seemed to be explained, but in reality was impenetrably darkened, by the interpretation of the morning (*vv.* 32 —41). It is to this latter service in particular that the language here, with singular grace and dexterity, is made to point.—ἄλλα marks the antithesis, the whole period being a variation of ἄλλα μὲν φανεῖ, ἄλλα δὲ κρύψει.—χρῄζων: θέλων, as in *v.* 339.—κρυπτά emphatic, *however concealed.*—νύκτα...φέρει: lit. 'he brings (with him) night and (thereby) darkness-before-the-eyes' *i.e.* 'he offers to the eyes as it were darkness'. It is roughly, but not exactly, true to say that τε is 'trajected' and the phrase equivalent to φέρει νύκτα καὶ σκότον πρὸ ὀμμάτων (schol.).—It is also perhaps not impossible to take τε as belonging to the whole clause, with answering δέ as in *Ag.* 1573 (Conington and others), so that νύκτα (*by night*) is antithetic to καθ' ἡμέραν. But the decisive objection to this is the position of τε, for which the only natural place would then have been after νύκτα. The thought is correct without the supposed antithesis, 'Hermes conceals himself with such a nocturnal darkness, that daylight does not reveal him'.—M has κρυπτά written in full, instead of with elision; but there is nothing in this to throw doubt on the text. Elided words are not seldom so written.

814. After this verse it has been proposed to repeat *vv.* 802—807 as an *ephymnium* (see the preliminary note to the ode). But these verses, rightly understood, cannot properly be parted from *vv.* 799—801, nor these very well from the *strophe* itself (*vv.* 796—798). It is just possible to repeat here the whole of *vv.* 799—807: but that would not help the theory of *strophae* and *ephymnia*, for it takes no account of *vv.* 811—814.

815—836. Here again the problem of 'strophic arrangement' admits of no fair solution. Supposing (with Schneider) that *vv.* 823—828 are an *ephymnium*, the remaining 'strophae' cannot be brought even to an approximate agreement without changes for which there is no excuse but the metrical theory. To carry out this process is to assume the very point which has to be proved. Apparently the whole passage is recitative, without strophic division.

815—822. 'And *then* at last, we wo-

τὸν δωμάτων λυτήριον
θῆλυν οὐριοστάταν
ὁμοῦ κρεκτὸν γοη-
τῶν νόμον μεθήσομεν·
'πλεῖ τάδ' εὖ,
ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος ἀέξεται τόδ', ἄ-
τα δ' ἀποστατεῖ φίλων'.
σὺ δὲ θαρσῶν, ὅταν ἥκῃ

820

820. πόλει.

men, we 'mourners', shall chant our united, applauding chorus of *All goes well!*'. —There are here two words which, as it seems, must be erroneous, πλοῦτον (*v.* 815) and πόλει (*v.* 820). As to the second, πόλει τάδ' εὖ is without meaning, and an isolated reference to 'the city' would be alien from the ode, which is domestic and personal. Indeed throughout the play, the slave-women, as befits their station, refer but little to the political aspect of the situation, contrasting in this respect noticeably with the *elders* of the *Agamemnon*. Kirchhoff's πλεῖ τάδ' εὖ (*the vessel speeds*), pursuing the metaphor of οὐριοστάταν, may be accepted with some confidence, and suggests to me, that πλοῦτον stands for πλοθ (Aeschylus in a lyric passage would probably write πλόου) τόν. The whole is then perfectly clear. —τότε δὴ πλόου: 'at that point in the voyage', that is 'when the accomplishment comes, for which we pray'. The reference is to πρᾶξιν οὐρίαν in *v.* 810, and the metaphor implied in οὐρίαν is followed out. The enterprise is compared to the sailing of a ship, in order to lead up to the favourite comparison of applause or cheering to a breeze. For the genitive cf. *v.* 890 ἐνταῦθα κακοῦ, ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας *late in the day*, τηνικαῦτα τοῦ θέρους *at that stage of the summer*: πλοῦς *voyage* is treated as a word of time, which here in effect it is.—δωμάτων λυτήριον: 'house-liberating'.—θῆλυν: to cheer will be the proper office of women who cannot fight.—οὐριοστάταν: 'encouraging', literally 'wafting as a *favourable* and steady wind which *sets* the vessel on its course'. —ὁμοῦ κρεκτὸν: 'beaten (*i.e.* timed) together, united'.—γοητῶν (γοατῶν?) νόμον: *Mourners' song*. Their *song* will be a *song of Mourners*, because they are primarily and essentially *Mourners*, singers of a γόος or dirge. The reference is to their character in the play as Χοηφόροι (with which γοῆται is in fact synonymous). This was seen by the author of an accurate and sensible note imbedded here among the absurdities of the scholia: τὸν τῶν γοητῶν· οἷαι ᾄδουσι παριόντες [τὴν πόλιν], '*the song of Mourners*: such as they (the Chorus) sing in the Parodos (*vv.* 22 foll.)'. The words τὴν πόλιν (it should be ἐς τὴν πόλιν *in respect of the city*) are a separate note on the corrupt πόλει, which has attached itself to the preceding through the common syllable εσ.—μεθήσομεν: 'we shall loose', as if it had been hitherto repressed and confined.—πλεῖ...φίλων: the words of the promised song.

823—828. An apostrophe to Orestes: "When the moment comes, fear not at all the reproach of matricide. If she cry 'Child!', thou canst answer that with 'Father, father!'".

823—827. The MS. presents no verb; and though it would be possible to supply one, on the principle illustrated at *v.* 792, the form of the period makes such an ellipse improbable. Moreover ἔργῳ (*sic* M) in *v.* 825 is suspicious for several reasons: (1) πατρὸς ἔργα (*thy father's business*) seems, notwithstanding Coning-

μέρος ἔργων,
ἐπαύσας πατρὸς ἐργῶ
θροούσᾳ
πρὸς σὲ 'τέκνον' πατρὸς αὐδάν,
καὶ περαίν' ἀνεπίμομφον ἄταν,
Περσέως τ' ἐν φρεσὶν
καρδίαν σχεθών,
τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς φίλοισιν,
τοῖς τ' ἄνωθεν προπράσσων
χάριτας ὀργᾶς λυπράς,
ἔνδοθεν
φοινίαν ἄταν τιθείς, τὸν αἴτιον δ'
ἐξαπολλὺς μόρον.

828. περαίνων ἐπίμομφαν. 831. τοῖσδ'. 836. μόρον.

ton's defence, an inapplicable phrase; (2) in ἐπαύσας the preposition, as well as the verb, ought naturally to relate to θροούσᾳ, but the intervening dative ἔργῳ prevents this; and (3) the contra-position of ἔργων...ἔργῳ is not merely pointless, but seems to imply that Orestes has several ἔργα to perform, of which the ἔργων πατρός is only one. All this suggests that ἔργῳ is wrong and conceals the missing imperative. May we not suppose that we have here the form ἐργάομαι (ἐργάζομαι), and that the true accentuation is ἐργῶ *do the deed*? The form is correct and extant; and the fact that this is the only example now found in classical Greek is no objection at all. Many like forms are now ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. This both puts ἔργων...ἐργῶ into the right relation and explains the recurrence of πατρὸς... πατρὸς, which is a repetition for emphasis: *When the time for doing comes, do it without fear, overbearing her cry of 'Child!' with the sound of 'Father, father!'*.—μέρος: *turn*; hitherto it has been the μέρος λόγων.—ἐπαύσας πατρὸς...πατρὸς αὐδάν: the suspension of the construction produces no difficulty, since it is manifest at once in what way and to what effect it will be completed.—πατρὸς αὐδάν: the word or sound πατήρ.

828. καὶ περαίν' ἀνεπίμομφον ἄταν Schütz: ἐπίμομφον is the opposite of what is clearly meant, and the required syllable αν is actually in the text, though it has been put (probably from a misapplied correction) in the wrong place. *And accomplish a 'sin' for which none can reproach thee.*

829—836. 'Be stern as Perseus, when he slew the Medusa. For the sake of those dear to thee, dead and living, stifle thy pangs, and make thy heart murderous to take the murderer's life'.—There is no verb, but none is required, as the whole is a continuation of the preceding sentence.

831—833. τοῖς θ' Robortello.—χάριτας Schütz. Literally 'doing for those thou lovest...a service of wrath, though it is painful'. So far as the sense is concerned, there is no reason to suspect any serious error in these words: προπράσσειν χάριτας λυπράς τινι is a simple expression for 'to do a painful act in order to earn the future gratitude' of him for whom it is done, and so is πράσσειν χάριτας ὀργᾶς for 'to do a service of wrath', ὀργᾶς being the ordinary genitive 'of equivalence'.

834—836. μόρου Turnebus, μόρον M.—

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

ἥκω μὲν οὐκ ἄκλητος, ἀλλ' ὑπάγγελος·
νέαν φάτιν δὲ πεύθομαι λέγειν τινὰς
ξένους μολόντας, οὐδαμῶς ἐφίμερον,
μόρον δ' Ὀρέστου. καὶ τόδ' ἀμφέρειν δόμοις 840
γένοιτ' ἂν ἄχθος δειματοσταγὲς φόνῳ

Literally 'putting murderous fury within (thee), but (therewith) destroying him that is guilty of death'. The final antithesis repeats the point of the whole exhortation, that Orestes is to steel his heart; if he works himself to the temper of murder, it is but to slay the murderer. —**τὸν αἴτιον**: the masculine expression may be taken generically (*the murderer* as such), but leads aptly to the approach of *Aegisthus*, and is probably applied to him by gesture.—To conclude upon the theme of *Clytaemnestra* would be less suitable, which is a reason for not supposing that *vv.* 823—828 should be here repeated.

837. Aegisthus enters alone (see *v.* 767).—**οὐκ ἄκλητος, ἀλλ' ὑπάγγελος.** Why does he thus insist on the fact that he has come not without a summons? In the parallels cited there is obvious reason why the summons, or the want of it, should be specified: Soph. *Ai.* 289 *τί τήνδ' ἄκλητος οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀγγέλων | κληθεὶς ἀφορμᾷς πεῖραν* κτλ.; Soph. *Trach.* 391 *μῖμν', ὡς δὴ ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐμῶν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων | ἀλλ' αὐτόκλητος ἐκ δόμων πορεύεται* (Lichas enters just as Deianira was about to send for him). The explanation here is that, as often in Aeschylus, the effect of the position of **δὲ** in *v.* 838 is to emphasize the word displaced, which is **φάτιν**. This stress on the word *rumour* strikes the key-note of his remarks, which is, to treat the report as worthless. He does this, as he pretends, because it is too sad to believe, in reality because he thinks it too good to be true. When he says 'I come not without summons', he means that but for the express summons he should not have troubled himself at all about what is plainly a mere story, invented by persons who wanted to get a lodging (see on *v.* 853). For the like reason there is a stress on *ξένους*. The 'merchants' are *ξένοι* of the house only in the sense that they have found entertainment there.—**νέαν**: not simply *new*, but *strange*.

839. **οὐδαμῶς...Ὀρέστου**: lit. 'news not at all to be desired, *but* (news of) the death of Orestes'. **δέ** contrasts the positive description with the negative (Sidgwick). Somewhat similar are *Theb.* 451—452 *σεσημάτισται δ' ἀσπὶς οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ δ' ὁπλίτης* κτλ. and *ib.* 412—413 *ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ, πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δεινά*, where see notes. The antithetic form of expression is alien from our language, which would use simple apposition; but Greek favours antithesis for its own sake.—Conington compares *τε* with words in apposition (*Ag.* 1527 *sed quaere*); but the conjunctions are widely different.—**γε** Portus.

840—842. Literally 'to have this (weight) also upon the house would be a drop-weight formidable to the old (sore of) bloodshed, raw and galled'.—**ἀμφέραν δόμοις**: 'to carry upon the house': these words go, as the rhythm groups them, together: the sense of the case **δόμοις** is between locative and instrumental.—**δειματοσταγὲς**. The two parts of the compound have their force separately: *δειματο-*, *terrible*, accounts for **φόνῳ**, and *-σταγες* introduces the notion of the 'last drop'. The figure is taken from an animal so loaded, or so unfit for work, that 'a rain-drop on the pack' would make too much. It was probably proverbial.

τῷ πρόσθεν ἑλκαίνοντι καὶ δεδηγμένῳ.
πῶς ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ καὶ βλέποντα δοξάσω;
ἢ πρὸς γυναικῶν δειματούμενοι λόγοι
πεδάρσιοι θρῴσκουσι θνήσκοντες μάτην; 845
τί τῶνδ' ἂν εἴποις ὥστε δηλῶσαι φρενί;
ΧΟ. ἠκούσαμεν μέν—πυνθάνου δὲ τῶν ξένων

—**φόνῳ** κτλ. The 'former bloodshed' (see *v.* 801) is compared to a sore on a beast of burden, 'raw and bitten (by insects)', and in this respect is personified, after the Aeschylean manner, so that the sore itself, and not the animal, is said to shrink from the burden.—I think the text sound. Many read *αἱματοσταγές*, but it is then difficult, if not impossible, to construe *φόνῳ...δεδηγμένῳ*. Hence Bamberger (and others) substitute *ἑλκαίνουσι καὶ δεδηγμένοις*, (*ἄχθος ὄμοις ἑλκαίνουσι φόνῳ τῷ πρόσθεν*). This gives no doubt a simple construction, and the single changes may be plausibly defended. But the figure is more picturesque and more consistent as it stands.

843. **βλέποντα** *living*, i.e. likely to bear investigation. Contrast *θνήσκοντες* in *v.* 845.

844. **δειματούμενοι** may be taken, as Conington says, in two ways: either (1) it may be the passive of *δειματοῦν λόγον to tell a scaring story*, cf. *ἕλκος τυφλωθέν* from *τυφλοῦν ἕλκος* 'to inflict a blinding wound' Soph. *Ant.* 973 (with Jebb's note) and *sup. v.* 508; thus the sense would be *tales with which women scare us*: or (2) *frightened tales* may be *tales told by the frightened*, the tale being personified. It is hard to decide, but **πρὸς γυναικῶν** should most naturally be connected with **δειματούμενοι** and this is in favour of (1) *Or is it but a scaring tale of women, which leaps into the air, and dies in nothing?* The metaphor is from a spark.

847. 'For enquiring about a matter, report at second hand is but a weak (assurance) compared with (going) yourself to the man himself', *i.e.* to the original authority. Irregular and uncouth as this sentence is, I do not believe it to be corrupt. It exhibits the grammar, or rather the want of it, proper to a popular saying, shaped by uneducated speakers and docked for convenience of repetition. We should note especially, that emendation cannot make it really correct. The locution *οὐδὲν ἀγγέλων σθένος, ὡς* κτλ. 'reporters are weak, compared with', is illustrated (after Blomfield) from Aristoph. *Birds* 967 *οὐδὲν οἷόν ἐστ' ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐπῶν there is nothing like hearing the words*, Plat. *Gorg.* 447 C *οὐδὲν οἷον τὸ αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν*. But these, though similar in sense, are very different in form; they are grammatical, while the Aeschylean *ὡς*, though intelligible enough and undoubtedly genuine, is not. The irregularities of *v.* 849 belong to the same style as the irregular use of *ὡς*. First in **αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα** (*ἐλέγξαι?*) '(questioning) the author yourself' we have an ellipse for brevity. Greek, even in finished styles, is highly elliptical: popular speech, of which we have in ancient Greek no adequate specimen, is naturally more free in this respect. The contraction of a known phrase here is comparable to the way in which a known story or saying is cited by leading words (*sup. v.* 312, Aristoph. *Wasps* 1178 *ὡς ὁ Καρδοκίων τὴν μητέρα*) and not bolder. The adverbial **περί** *about* (*the matter*) is scarcely even irregular (see *Indices* to this and the previous plays, *Preposition as Adverb*); it is exactly similar to that elliptic and adverbial use which, for certain prepositions and for certain conventional phrases, survives in French, *e.g.* 'prendre une chose et s'en aller *avec*', 'courir *sus*' etc.; in French, as probably in Greek, it is

ἔσω παρελθών. οὐδὲν ἀγγέλων σθένος,
ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα, πεύθεσθαι πέρι.
ΑΙ. ἰδεῖν ἐλέγξαι τ' αὖ θέλω τὸν ἄγγελον, 850
εἴτ' αὐτὸς ἦν θνήσκοντος ἐγγύθεν παρὼν
εἴτ' ἐξ ἀμαυρᾶς κληδόνος λέγει μαθών.
οὗτοι φρένα κλέψειαν ὠμματωμένην.
ΧΟ. Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τί λέγω, πόθεν ἄρξωμαι,
τάδ' ἐπευχομένη κἀπιθεάζουσ'; 855
ὑπὸ δ' εὐνοίας
πῶς ἴσον εἰποῦσ' ἀνύσωμαι;
νῦν γὰρ μέλλουσι μιανθεῖσαι

855. καὶπιθοάζουσα (οα over erasure).

much commoner in popular speech than in academic. Nor is there anything exceptional in the inf. πεύθεσθαι depending on οὐδὲν σθένος 'weak for the purpose of enquiry'.—In ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτῶν ἄνδρα πεύθεσθαι πάρα (corrections of Canter, Turn., Port.) ordinary grammar is obtained, to a certain extent, at the expense of changes not collectively, or even singly, very probable, and also (I think) at the expense of natural colour. — Conington notes the malicious allusion to the trick of the altered message from Clytaemnestra. The immediate reference is to the chorus as ἄγγελοι (reporters), and the merchants as primary authorities, for the recent news.

851. θνήσκοντος: Ὀρέστου.—ἦν Turn. ἦεν m, over an erasure in M.

853. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 14. 122 ὦ γέρον, οὔ τις κεῖνον ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν | ἀγγελίων πείσειε γυναῖκά τε καὶ φίλον υἱόν, | ἀλλ' ἄλλως κομιδῆς κεχρημένοι ἄνδρες ἀλῆται | ψεύδοντ', οὐδ' ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι, 'No one, offering news of Ulysses (as alive), *will convince* his wife and son: vagabonds tell lies *to procure entertainment* and will not keep to the truth'. That passage so precisely coincides with the sense of this, while illustrating the archaic grammar, that it was probably in the mind of Aeschylus. It is the traditional character of the phrase which justifies both the syntax and the metre (φρένα κλέψειαν) which, though rare in Attic poetry, would be regular in other poets, and is here to be regarded as an archaism. The whole verse may well be a proverb or quotation. For similar instances see Index to *Agamemnon*, *s.v.* Optative.—No correction therefore is needed. Against the suggestion οὕτω φρέν' ἄν (Elmsley) see on *Ag.* 898. I have elsewhere proposed οὐ τῶν φρένας... ὠμματωμένας, but this I retract.—Here Aegisthus enters the door representing the ξενών.

855. ἐπιθοάζουσα: Schütz; so in Eur. *Med.* 1409 ἐπιθοάζω Blomfield, ἐπιθοάζω MSS.

857. "ἴσον scil. τῇ εὐνοίᾳ. 'How shall we give to the feelings, which crowd upon us, expression corresponding?'" (Wecklein). Lit. 'Under (the pressure of) my good will how, before I close, shall I say what is equal (to it)?' πῶς is constructed with εἰποῦσα, the deliberative sense of the question falling upon the participle, as in *v.* 14, ἐπεικάσας τύχω; 'shall I conjecture, in order to be right?' The chorus would fain put their whole heart into the prayer of these critical minutes, and feel the inadequacy of words. —ἴσον then has its common sense and need not be pressed to that of 'fit, right'.

πειραὶ κοπάνων ἀνδροδαΐκτων
ἢ πάνυ θήσειν Ἀγαμεμνονίων 860
οἴκων ὄλεθρον διὰ παντός,
ἢ πῦρ καὶ φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ
δαίων ἀρχαῖς τε πολισσονόμοις

863. ἀρχὰς. πολισσονόμους.

859. **πειραὶ** (?) *points*: *al ἀκμαὶ τῶν ξιφῶν, παρὰ τὸ πείρειν. κοπάνων δὲ τῶν κοπτικῶν ξιφῶν* schol. I keep this, as possible, though (with others) I think it very doubtful. The objections are, not that **πειρά** *point* is otherwise uncertified (for it is passable in form), but that in the sense of *point* the word does not well fit *κόπανον*, which must be *κοπτικόν τι*, and (what is more important) that it is irrelevant to the meaning. Conington takes **πεῖραι** (Port., Pauw), and refers it to the coming *trial*. The objection to this lies in **μανθεῖσαι**: for though an epithet belonging properly to a dependent genitive is sometimes transposed to the 'governing' substantive, *μανθεῖσαι πεῖραι* would carry this license to a great length, since the *κόπανα* are already 'polluted', and not to become so by the approaching 'trial'. These difficulties may perhaps be avoided if we take **πεῖραι** in the sense of *essay*, and refer it not to the coming contest, but to the deaths of Agamemnon (and Cassandra), which were the 'coup-d'essai' of the *κόπανα*, 'cleavers stained by their first essay with human blood'. Thus the notions *πεῖρα* and *μίασμα* would really be connected, and the attachment of the epithet natural enough.—**κοπάνων**: probably something like a *κοπίς*, an *axe* or *cleaver*, properly used to kill and cut up animals (Eur. *El.* 838). The *ξιφῶν* of the schol. cannot be trusted. Nothing need be inferred from this as to the real form attributed by Aeschylus to the weapon of Clytaemnestra (see on *v.* 1009). Whatever it was, it might be called a *κόπανον*, for the same reason as the house is called *ἀνδροσφαγεῖον a place of human slaughter* (*Ag.* 1077).—**ἀνδροδαΐκτων**. The form *ἀνδροδάϊκτος* occurs in a fragment of Aesch. quoted by Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1264), *τί ποτ' ἀνδροδάϊκτον ἀκούων, ἰή, κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἀρωγάν*; where it is, or may be, strictly passive. For the active, which is required here, I think *ἀνδροδαΐκτης* far more probable in Aeschylus, but will reserve this matter for another occasion.

860. There would be two murders now, as at 'the first essay', for of course Orestes would drag down Electra.

861. **παντὸς | ἢ**. The reason of *synaphea*, or metrical continuity in the anapaestic system, applies only within one system, and not where, by a 'paroemiac verse', the system is rounded off, and there is a musical 'rest'.—**διὰ παντός**: *thoroughly, utterly*.

862—864: *kindling fire and light for (recovery of) freedom and lawful rule. Fire* is used as a metaphor for joy, partly perhaps because it was the instrument (in sacrifice) of public rejoicing (cf. Eur. *Or.* 1137 *ὁλολυγμὸς ἔσται πῦρ τ' ἀνάψουσιν θεοῖς* Wecklein). But the addition of **καὶ φῶς** indicates that there is no particular reference to sacrifice, and in fact the expression, which would otherwise be inappropriate and irrelevant, is brought in simply to complete the allusive reference to the crime of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra. See Introduction to the *Agamemnon*, p. xxxiv.—The sentence requires correction; for in the MS. reading, by which *ἀρχάς* belongs to *ἕξει*, there is no place for *τε*. The choice lies between *ἐλευθερίαν* and **ἀρχαῖς πολισσονόμους** (Porson), which I have adopted. **πολισσονόμους** contrasts the lawful and 'constitutional' authority of the true prince with

ἔξει πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον.
τοιάνδε πάλην μόνος ὢν ἔφεδρος
δισσοῖς μέλλει θεῖος Ὀρέστης
ἄψειν. εἴη δ' ἐπὶ νίκῃ.—
—ἔ ἔ.—ὀτοτοτοῖ.—ἔα.

XO. ἔα μάλα.
πῶς ἔχει; πῶς κέκρανται δόμοις;
ἀποσταθῶμεν πράγματος τελουμένου,

the mere tyranny of the usurpers. This thought is better joined with that of *freedom* than with the *hereditary wealth* of the prince himself. Either the acc. or the dative (with different senses) is admissible.—πατέρων θ' ἔξει Weil.

865. πάλην: *wrestling-bout*, another reference to the *Agamemnon* (*v.* 1376 with note). Note that the allusion to that scene brings forcibly before our minds both Agamemnon and Cassandra, who, according to her prayer (*Ag.* 1279, 1322), is not forgotten in the hour of vengeance. This is of some importance in explaining the words which follow.—μόνος ὢν ἔφεδρος δισσοῖς. The ἔφεδρος in gymnastic contests corresponded to our 'bye' or 'odd man'; he contended with the victor in a previous contest. The pair Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra having triumphed over the pair Agamemnon and Cassandra, Orestes is now to meet the victor pair as ἔφεδρος. The figure must of course not be pressed too far; Cassandra cannot be said to have 'contended', but neither did Agamemnon, as in literal fact there was no contest at all. It is enough that they are joined as conquered pair in the scene referred to. For a contest of pairs the ἔφεδρος, or combatant in reserve, would commonly be also a pair; but here (μόνος) it is not so. δισσοῖς is put briefly for ἀγῶνι δισσῶν 'a contest of a pair (against a pair)'. It is constructed primarily with ἔφεδρος, but also supplies the object to ἄψειν πάλην.—The reference to Cassandra supplies the key to this passage, which without it is scarcely intelligible. If Agamemnon only were in view, since the combatants in the first 'bout', just as in the second, were a pair against one, the expression μόνος ἔφεδρος lacks point. Some therefore (Scholefield, Conington) take μόνος ὢν ἔφεδρος for 'having himself no ἔφεδρος'; Orestes is the last champion. But then there is no point in the antithesis μόνος-δισσοῖς.—As to the bearing of μόνος on the part of Pylades and other matters see App. I. § 23.

866. θεῖος Turn. (θεῖος M) an epic epithet of beauty and strength, but here suggesting Orestes' divine commission.

868. A shriek of agony (ἔ ἔ), and then exclamations of grief and horror (ὀτοτοτοῖ) and astonishment (ἔα), are heard from the ξενών.—The MS. gives ἔα to the chorus, but ἔα μάλα *Yes*, '*ah' indeed*, is more natural as an echo of a cry within.

871. 'Let us get away from the finishing of the affair'. This panic among the women, after all their admirable bravery and presence of mind, is an excellent touch: and so is their imagination that they could possibly now dissociate themselves, if need were, from the plot. They are for the moment incapable of thought. From ἀποσταθῶμεν we must naturally understand that they fly and quit the scene. For this there is every possible reason, natural and dramatic. During the next scene and at the close of it their presence would be worse than useless.—The attempts made, from supposed theoretic necessity, to evade this ἀποσταθῶμεν and keep the maidservants somewhere upon the field, have led to some surprising devices. It has even been suggested that they get behind the tomb of Agamemnon.

ὅπως δοκῶμεν τῶνδ' ἀναίτιαι κακῶν
εἶναι (μάχαις γὰρ δὴ κεκύρωται) τέλος.
ΟΙ. οἴμοι, πανοίμοι δεσπότου τελουμένου†,
οἴμοι μάλ' αὖθις ἐν τρίτοις προσφθέγμασιν.
Αἴγισθος οὐκέτ' ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἀνοίξατε
ὅπως τάχιστα, καὶ γυναικείους πύλας
μοχλοῖς χαλᾶτε· καὶ μάλ' ἡβῶντος δὲ δεῖ,
οὐχ ὡς δ' ἀρῆξαι διαπεπραγμένῳ· τί γάρ;
ἰοὺ ἰού.
κωφοῖς ἀϋτῶ καὶ καθεύδουσιν μάτην
ἄκραντα βάζω. ποῖ Κλυταιμήστρα; τί δρᾷ;

873. μάχῃ. 874. πὰν οἴμοι. 879. διαπεπραγμένων.

872. *...in order that we may pretend not to be to blame, that these (proceedings) have been unhappy in their result, 'for after all it is the fighting that has settled that'.* In the construction of the main sentence both **τῶνδε** and **κακῶν εἶναι** (epexegetic infinitive) depend upon **ἀναίτιαι**, 'not the cause of (responsible for) these things, that they are bad', the predicate *κακῶν* being attracted, as usual, into the case of the subject. **τέλος** (accusative) has its common adverbial sense (*in the end*), and in particular defines *κακῶν* 'bad in their end'.—On the reading and interpretation see further App. I. § 24.

874. As the chorus run off, a servant rushes from the *ξενών*.—**πανοίμοι** Porson.—**τελουμένου** (?). No explanation has been found for this word, which neither the meaning nor tense permits to mean *finished, dead*. It is commonly supposed to have been introduced by error from *τέλος*. The suggested emendations are not successful: 'ξεφθαρμένου and 'ξειργασμένου (Heimsoeth) are ugly, and *τετυμμένου*, *πεπληγμένου* etc. too weak. Perhaps it is right after all, though we cannot interpret it.

877. **γυναικείους πύλας**: the door representing the residence of Clytaemnestra and her women.

878. **μοχλοῖς χαλᾶτε**: lit. 'unloose *with* the bars' *i.e.* by withdrawing the bars, *unbar* (Sidgwick). Cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 99 κλῆθρα λύσαντες μοχλοῖς (Wecklein).

ib. **καὶ...δεῖ** is put briefly for ἀλλ' *ἀνδρὸς* δεῖ καὶ μάλ' ἡβῶντος, and refers to *γυναικείους*: 'not that a woman is wanted, but a man and a lusty one' to carry on the fight: *ἀνδρός* is suggested by the masculine.

879. **οὐχ ὡς δ' ἀρῆξαι** should perhaps be corrected to *οὐχ ὥστ' ἀρῆξαι* (Porson) or, better, *οὐχ ὡς ἀρῆξαι* (Wecklein). The Δ may have come from an accidental repetition of the Δ. It is however admissible (Paley, Conington) in the same adversative sense as in *v.* 878, *yet not, not indeed.* To write *οὐχ ὡς δὲ* rather than *οὐ δ' ὡς* would be natural, if not necessary, since *οὐ δὲ* would sound as if it meant *nor*.—**διαπεπραγμένῳ** Turnebus, from schol. *τῷ σφαγέντι*.

880. **καθεύδουσιν μάτην**: 'useless sleepers'. Cf. *sup.* 845 *θνήσκοντες μάτην*, Eur. *Hipp.* 916 πόλλ' ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄνθρωποι *μάτην*, Soph. *Ai.* 635 *νοσῶν μάτην*, Aristoph. *Peace* 95 *τί μάτην οὐχ ὑγιαίνεις*; (Peile, Conington, Wordsworth). *μάτην* 'emphasizes the notion of futility inherent in the verb itself': Wecklein.—Note that **καθεύδουσιν** reminds us of the hour and the darkness (*vv.* 656, 724).

881. **βάζω**: *I bay*, like a watch-dog. I have given a full account of this word as

ἔοικε νῦν αὖ τῆς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ πέλας
αὐχὴν πεσεῖσθαι πρὸς δίκην πεπληγμένος.
ΚΛ. τί δ' ἐστὶ χρῆμα; τίνα βοὴν ἵστης δόμοις;
ΟΙ. τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω. 885
ΚΛ. οἶ 'γώ. ξυνῆκα τοὔπος ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.
δόλοις ὀλούμεθ' ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκτείναμεν.
δοίη τις ἀνδροκμῆτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος·

882. αὐτῆς.

used in tragedy in a note to Eur. *Med.* 1374. It was connected with βαΰζω and referred originally to the voice of the dog.—**ποῖ** (not **ποῦ**): 'What has become of Clytaemnestra?', **ποῖ οἴχεται**; or the like.

ib. **Κλυταιμήστρα**: *Clytaemestra*, the Aeschylean form of the name.

882—883. See Appendix I. § 25.

884. Clytaemnestra comes out from her door.

885. ὁ **τῷ λόγῳ τεθνηκὼς** 'Ορέστης **ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ζῶντα Αἴγισθον** schol. Note however the tense, **καίνειν** (*is about killing*) not **κτεῖναι**. He refers not specially to Aegisthus but to the whole of what Orestes clearly intends, the massacre of Aegisthus, of Clytaemnestra, and their supporters. Both **τὸν ζῶντα** and **τοὺς τεθνηκότας** are general descriptions (*the dead...the living* as such) and the gender and number in the first, as the number in the second, do not affect the meaning (see *v.* 685). This is important, because Clytaemnestra evidently does not know till *v.* 891 that Aegisthus is actually dead. All she understands is that the pretended reporter of Orestes' death is Orestes himself, and that the false 'travellers' have broken out. There is an irony in her **ἐνταῦθα τοῦδ' ἀφικόμην κακοῦ** *v.* 890: the **κακόν** has gone beyond the point which she supposes.

886. "The **αἴνιγμα** which she speaks of is the *paradox*; not, I think (as some commentators), the grammatical ambiguity of the sentence, which might be taken the other way with **ζῶντα** for subject" (Sidgwick).—For the bearing of this **αἴνιγμα** upon the construction of the story see on *vv.* 37—41, 925.

887. **ὥσπερ οὖν** *as indeed.* **οὖν** ('if it comes to that') acknowledges the natural sequence.

888. **δοίη τις**: archaic use of the opt. as an imperative; see *Ag.* 557, 936 **ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας λύοι**, *ib.* 1373.

ib. **ἀνδροκμῆτα πέλεκυν.** The epithet seems to describe a kind of axe, a *battle-axe* in fact, as distinct from other like instruments. A needless epithet, such as *murdering*, would be weak and out of place.—Abresch, whom Conington inclined to follow, supposed an allusion to the axe with which Agamemnon was killed, in which case we should translate not '*a* murdering axe' but 'the murdering axe'. This might be accepted without supposing either that **ἀνδροκμῆτα** means '*husband*-slaying' or that Clytaemnestra really means to insist on having that identical weapon, which at such a moment would not be likely. The difficulty, as Con. points out, is to "be sure that Aesch., like Soph. (*El.* 99) and Eur. (*Hec.* 1279, *El.* 160, 279, 1160), represented the axe as the weapon with which Agamemnon was slain". But other references (see *inf.* 1009) point rather, though not perhaps conclusively, to a sword; and as no allusion is here required, the passage itself affords no evidence. It is however likely enough that this **πέλεκυς** helped to establish the axe as the weapon of Clytaemnestra, and led, even if unintentionally, to the later versions of the murder.

εἰδῶμεν εἰ νικῶμεν ἢ νικώμεθα.
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ τοῦδ' ἀφικόμην κακοῦ. 890
ΟΡ. σὲ καὶ ματεύω· τῷδε δ' ἀρκούντως ἔχει.
ΚΛ. οἰ 'γώ. τέθνηκας, φίλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βία.
ΟΡ. φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγὰρ ἐν ταὐτῷ τάφῳ
κείσει· θανόντα δ' οὔτι μὴ προδῷς ποτέ.
ΚΛ. ἐπίσχες, ὦ παῖ, τὸν δ' ἔτ' αἴδεσαι, τέκνον, 895

895. τόνδε δήσεται.

889. εἰ Turn., ἢ M. In Homer ἤ...ἤ for *whether...or* in a dependent question is regular. For Attic writers the evidence is insufficient. MSS. of weight give ἤ in a few passages of Aeschylus, in whose style an occasional archaism is not to be rejected *a priori*, but also in one passage of Sophocles (*O. C.* 80) and one of Euripides (*Med.* 493). These last impeach the value of the testimony, since in Euripides at all events a breach of common rule in such a matter is extremely improbable. Assuming then that the usage was not admitted by Aeschylus, the choice (see Prof. Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 80) here lies between (1) substituting *εἰ* for ἤ (in which case *νικῶμεν* and *νικώμεθα* are indicatives, *whether we are victors or vanquished, i.e.* destined to victory or defeat, as the true deliberative subjunctive is hardly appropriate): or (2) punctuating thus, *εἰδῶμεν. ἢ νικῶμεν ἢ νικώμεθα, Let us have certainty. Let us be victor or vanquished.* This choice appears to me indifferent, and therefore I go with the majority in writing *εἰ*.

890. τοῦδε...κακοῦ: the 'destiny' of the house; cf. *Ag.* 1656 foll. (Con.). "It is as though she said, half wearily, but without emotion, of this fearful conflict: 'Bloodshed again! I or he! Let us begin!'" (Sidgwick).—The gen. depends on ἐνταῦθα: see *v.* 815.

891. Orestes enters (from the ξενών).—Since three actors are required for the ensuing scene, Pylades, if there were but three provided for this play, must be represented by the same actor who took the servant (schol. on *v.* 899). The time for change of mask (after *v.* 885) is short, but perhaps sufficient; and it may be noted that Pylades probably does not enter with Orestes, but comes forward at *v.* 897, as if to interfere, when it is seen that Orestes is moved by his mother's appeal.—Orestes, Pylades, and Clytaemnestra are alone upon the scene. This would be the best, indeed, I think, the only tolerable manner of presenting such a deed in action. No one is present but the murderess, the avenger, and the visible representative of the divine command.

ib. σὲ καὶ ματεύω, sc. ὥσπερ καὶ ἥκεις (Wecklein).—τῷδε: pointing towards the ξενών; it is not necessary to suppose that the body of Aegisthus is visible.

892. φίλτατε: the gender follows the sense (Αἴγισθε) of Αἰγίσθου βία.

894. 'Thou shalt lie in the same grave with thy lover, whom, dead though he be, thou shalt never desert'. θανόντα: *though he is dead.* Clytaemnestra (says Orestes), like the traitress that she is, would doubtless break her oath to live *and die* with Aegisthus (*v.* 977) as readily as she broke her marriage-vow. But though Aegisthus can no longer claim his rights, Orestes will see that she is faithful to him for ever.—Dr Wecklein suggests θανοῦσα: 'thy death will secure thy faith to him for ever'. This also would put the point well, but the other seems equally good.

895. ὦ παῖ...τέκνον: the second appeal is the more tender (Wecklein, referring to *vv.* 263—264).—τὸν: demonstrative,

μαστόν, πρὸς ᾧ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ βριζων ἅμα
σὺλοισιν ἐξήμελξας εὐτραφὲς γάλα.
ΟΡ. Πυλάδη, τί δράσω; μητέρ' αἰδεσθῶ κτανεῖν;
ΠΥ. ποῦ δαὶ τὰ λοιπὰ Λοξίου μαντεύματα
τὰ πυθόχρηστα, πιστὰ δ' εὐορκώματα;
ἅπαντας ἐχθροὺς τῶν θεῶν ἡγοῦ πλέον.
ΟΡ. κρίνω σε νικᾶν, καὶ παραινεῖς μοι καλῶς.

896. ὡκὺ.

this.—ἔτι: *even now*, for all that has passed. I give this (and not the usual reading τόνδε δ' ἀλέσαι) as accounting better for the corruption. In δεραδεσαι the last five letters were lost by similarity, written over, and re-inserted in the wrong place: hence δεδεσαιται, which to the copyist was a way of spelling δὲ δήσεται.—ἀλέσαι Sophianus ap. Robort. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 22. 82 Ἕκτορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' ἄλδεο, καί μ' ἐλέησον | αὐτήν, ἐπεί τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἔτισχον (Stanley).—I think it more than probable that Aesch. really wrote here μαζόν, as in *v.* 529, and in both places for the same reason, here for the Homeric reminiscence, and there to lead up to it. The appearance of the common Attic form in the MS. proves nothing, though we cannot safely alter it.

896. ᾧ σὺ Robortello, ὡκὺ M, a curious instance of the error κ for ιc (ισ).—Here Pylades enters from the ξενών. As to his part see the Introduction.

899. ποῦ; *what becomes of...?* what account is made of...?—δαὶ: δὴ Auratus. Con. retains δαί. The ground for suggesting δή is that δαί does not occur in Sophocles nor except here apparently in Aeschylus, though it is not impossible to retain τί δαί (with M) in *P. V.* 965. It is suspected therefore that δαί was colloquial, but the whole matter seems too delicate for modern decision. The use of a colloquial form may be, in certain circumstances, the only means of transcending the ordinary level of an elevated style; and it is at least possible that Aesch. wrote δαί here just because it was not in his usual vocabulary.—τὰ λοιπά: since, by the death of Aegisthus, the divine command is but half accomplished (Wecklein).

900. πιστὰ δ' εὐορκώματα; *And the faith of oaths, (where is it)?* This is a separate clause (note δέ), ποῦ being supplied from the previous clause, as ἄγε is supplied in *v.* 709. The 'oaths' are those which Orestes and Pylades swore at Delphi, to each other and to the gods, that they would perform their mission (τὰ ὁρκωμόσια ἃ συνωμόσαμεν schol.).—Con. rightly retains the Aeschylean δέ: the case is noticeable because here the common substitution of τε (Hermann) is really not admissible. If τε be read, it is natural and almost inevitable to refer εὐορκώματα, thus coupled with μαντεύματα, to Apollo, which Peile, Weil, and others accordingly do. But what are 'the faithful oaths' of Apollo? Apollo threatened punishment and promised protection. But it nowhere appears that he condescended to be sworn. Mr Sidgwick, reading τε and consistently referring εὐορκώματα to Apollo, objects to the other interpretation that 'there would be some hint if the persons were changed'. But δέ, which marks the beginning of a new thought, is just such a hint.

901. τῶν θεῶν, supply ἐχθρῶν: 'prefer the enmity of all the world to that of the gods'.—ἡγοῦ πλέον: 'think it more', that is 'better, more advantageous'.

ἕπου, πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδε σε σφάξαι θέλω.
καὶ ζῶντα γάρ νιν κρείσσον' ἡγήσω πατρός·
τούτῳ θανοῦσα συγκάθευδ', ἐπεὶ φιλεῖς
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν δὲ χρῆν φιλεῖν στυγεῖς.
ΚΛ. ἐγώ σ' ἔθρεψα, νῦν δὲ γηράναι θέλω.
ΟΡ. πατροκτονοῦσα γὰρ ξυνοικήσεις ἐμοί;
ΚΛ. ἡ Μοῖρα τούτων, ὦ τέκνον, παραιτία.
ΟΡ. καὶ τόνδε τοίνυν Μοῖρ' ἐπόρσυνεν μόρον.
ΚΛ. οὐδὲν σεβίζει γενεθλίους ἀράς, τέκνον;
ΟΡ. τεκοῦσα γάρ μ' ἔρριψας ἐς τὸ δυστυχές.
ΚΛ. οὔτοι σ' ἀπέρριψ' εἰς δόμους δορυξένους.
ΟΡ. διχῶς ἐπράθην ὢν ἐλευθέρου πατρός.

910. ἐπώρσυνεν.

903. ἕπου: he seizes her, as if to drag her to the place where Aegisthus lies.

904. γάρ refers to the sentence following, *Anglicè* '*as*'.—κρείσσον' Turnebus.

907. *I gave thee thy rearing, and now I would fain live my term, i.e.* 'Your mother gave you all your life, and asks you only not to take away part, the worse part, of hers'. The use of γηράναι here may be compared with Eur. *Alc.* 52 ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἀλκῆστις ἐς γῆρας μόλοι; where ἐς γῆρας μολεῖν is opposed to being cut off before the time.—I agree with Klausen and Con. that the text is sound, but would not introduce any reference to γηροβοσκεῖν or the parent's claim to maintenance. The difficulty found in the passage is chiefly due, I think, to this irrelevant suggestion. Auratus, followed by many, suggested σὺν δὲ γηράναι θέλω, *and desire to spend my old age with thee*. But apart from Con.'s not idle objection, that συγγηράσκειν properly means συγγηράσκειν γηράσκοντι, is it possible that Clytaemnestra should desire, or pretend to desire, this or any association with her son? Orestes in his retort assumes that if she is to live, it must be in the castle (ξυνοικήσεις), and naturally so, because he could not safely let her go out of his keeping. But what she asks is *to live*, not to live in Argos, least of all (as the emendation makes it) to live with Orestes.

908. πατροκτονοῦσα. Note that πατήρ here is relative not to the murderess Clytaemnestra, nor properly speaking to ἐμοί, but to *the house*, and means *house-father, head of the house*. This comes out more clearly in *v.* 973 ἴδεσθε χώρας τὴν διπλῆν τυραννίδα | πατροκτόνους τε δωμάτων πορθήτορας, where, though the children of Agamemnon are not mentioned, and the description relates to the time before Orestes' return, the 'brigands who usurped the house' are nevertheless called πατροκτόνους, simply in relation to the δώματα, and because they were members of the family. The nearest equivalent in English would be 'With the blood of *the* father on thy hands shalt thou share house with me?' If we say '*my* father', though this is part of the meaning, we force the expression and curtail its significance. But adequate translation is impossible.

909. παραιτία: 'secondary cause'.

913. 'It was not *casting thee out* to send thee to the house of a friend and ally'.

914. διχῶς ἐπράθην: *I was doubly sold*. The difficulty of explaining διχῶς

ΚΛ. *ποῦ δῆθ' ὁ τῖμος ὄντιν' ἀντεδεξάμην ;* 915
ΟΡ. *αἰσχύνομαί σ' οὐ τοῦτον εἰδῆσαι σαφῶς.*
ΚΛ. *μὴ ἀλλ' εἶφ' ὁμοίως καὶ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ μάτας.*
ΟΡ. *μὴ 'λεγχε τὸν πονοῦντ' ἔσω καθημένη.*
ΚΛ. *ἄλγος γυναιξὶν ἀνδρὸς εἴργεσθαι, τέκνον.*
ΟΡ. *τρέφει δέ γ' ἀνδρὸς μόχθος ἡμένας ἔσω.* 920
ΚΛ. *κτενεῖν ἔοικας, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν μητέρα.*
ΟΡ. *σύ τοι σεαυτήν, οὐκ ἐγώ, κατακτενεῖς.*
ΚΛ. *ὅρα, φύλαξαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας.*
ΟΡ. *τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ πῶς φύγω, παρεὶς τάδε ;*
ΚΛ. *ἔοικα θρηνεῖν ζῶσα πρὸς τύμβον μάτην.* 925

916. *σου τοῦτ' ὀνειδῆσαι.*

may be attributed naturally to the fact that this portion of the story adopted by Aeschylus, the whole conduct and relations of Strophius at and after the sending of Orestes to Phocis, is almost entirely unknown to us, and has to be gathered from cursory allusions, doubtless intelligible enough when the plays were produced. The subject is discussed in the Introduction (*The Story of Orestes*).—The substitutes suggested for **δικῶς** (**αἰσχρῶς**, **αἰκῶς**, **ἀδίκως**) are feeble, nor is there, as I think, any ground for suspicion.

916. *I am ashamed of thee, that this* (*the price*) *thou dost not plainly know.* **εἰδῆσαι**: perhaps **εἰδέναι**, but see App. I. § 26.

917. **μὴ ἀλλὰ** or **μ' ἀλλὰ** *nay, but*: cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 103, 611, 745 etc. The expression is not elsewhere found in tragedy, and Hermann accordingly rejects it as a colloquialism, supposing **μὴ** to be wrongly copied from the beginning of the next line. Con. and Wecklein retain it. See on *v.* 899.—**μάτας**. See *Ag.* 1440 **Χρυσηίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ**, and the whole speech there.

918. The hardships of the warrior abroad merit an indulgence not to be claimed by the wife who stays at home.

920. Her duty may be heavy, but how great is her debt !

921. She changes her tone from pleading to warning.

923. **κύνας**: **Ἐρινύας**, so called because pursuing. Cf. *v.* 1052 and *Eum.* 246 foll.

924. The position of **δὲ** is here natural both from the close connexion of **τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς** and from the fact that the displacement of **τοῦ πατρὸς** aids the emphasis. —I have remarked in the *Agamemnon* (see Index *s. v.* **δέ**) that where the conjunction is put by Aesch. in an unusual position, the irregular grouping has generally, if not always, a special intention and advantage. The simplest case is that which we have here, where the words displaced (and so emphasized) are those which, in common prose order, would immediately follow the conjunction. But the principle is the same in other cases, *e.g.* in *Ag.* 954 **πολλῶν πατησμὸν δ' εἱμάτων ἂν ἠξάμην**. Here the emphasis (see note) is not on **πατησμὸν** but on **πολλῶν**, and it is **πολλῶν**, not **πατησμὸν**, which is displaced. The order *from* which the sentence varies is this, **πατησμὸν δ' εἱμάτων πολλῶν ἂν ἠξάμην**, *and as for trampling of tapestries, I would have devoted many.* I note this because I see from some remarks by Mr W. G. Headlam that I have not made myself clear.

925. Orestes is as deaf to her 'as a grave to the dirge': **θρηνεῖν** as well as **τύμβον** belongs to the metaphor. The

ΟΡ. *πατρὸς γὰρ αἶσα τόνδε σιγρίζει μόρον.*
ΚΛ. *οἰ 'γώ, τεκοῦσα τόνδ' ὄφιν ἐθρεψάμην.*
ΟΡ. *ἦ κάρτα μάντις οὐξ ὀνειράτων φόβος.—*
ἔκανες γ' ὃν οὐ χρῆν, καὶ τὸ μὴ χρεὼν πάθε.
ΠΤ. *στένω μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶνδε συμφορὰν διπλῆν.* 930

926. σ' ὀρίζει. 929. κάνεσγ'.

schol. cite as a proverb **ταὐτὸ πρὸς τύμβον τε κλάειν καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα νήπιον.**—**ζῶσα** emphasizes the antithesis.

925—927. 'My words, it seems, are vain as the dirge which the tomb doth not hear.'—'Yes, vain; for my father's fate with serpent voice calls for this death'.—'Woe, woe! This is that snake, which I bare and suckled'. The connexion of this passage, which cannot be made natural in English, turns on the fact that to the Athenians *a snake* was the regular type of the dead and conventional symbol for a grave. This, as we have seen before, is of great importance for the *Choephori*: it was probably brought before the minds of the audience by the visible grave of Agamemnon, which would presumably be marked as a tomb in the usual way. It is this connexion only which links together *v.* 925 and *v.* 927, and shows why Clytaemnestra here suddenly realizes the true signification of her dream. 'You are deaf to me', says Clytaemnestra, 'as *a tomb*'. 'Yes, deaf to you', answers Orestes, 'because I hear only my father's call for vengeance'. This he puts in the form 'my father's fate *hisses* this death', *i.e.* 'threatens it like a snake', a form natural in a language habituated to the connexion of snake and tomb as symbol and thing signified. And it is equally natural that the figure, together with Orestes' action, should remind Clytaemnestra of her dream, making her feel in a moment that her death is decreed, that the 'snake' portended was her son, not (as her prophets imagined) the dead, but the living representative of the dead. (See on *vv.* 37, 885, and Introduction.) The key of the whole then is the word **συρίζει**, which I therefore restore. (It seems that in M the word was first written as **τορίζει** and corrected to **σ' ὀρίζει** by the same hand. We may, I think, take it as certain that **τορίζει** was a mere attempt to make sense, and that **σ' ὀρίζει**, which has no sense, was replaced because it was evidently the true reading of the MS. copied.)—**πατρὸς αἶσα**: the 'fate' or 'death' of Agamemnon is personified under the figure of a threatening snake.—**τόνδε συρίζει μόρον**: 'hisses this death', *i.e.* 'utters a hiss of which this death is the import': **συρίζει** has the meaning and construction of **συρίζουσα φωνεῖ** (*P. V.* 371 would be comparable, if we read with some **συρίζων φόνον**: but **φόβον** there has better authority: however the type of accusative is too common to require any special illustration).—**τόνδε** is explained by the action of Orestes and signifies that the death, which the 'hiss' threatens, is that which he is now in act to execute.—**σούρίζει** Elmsley; but, apart from the metrical question, the passage does not admit **ὀρίζει**, and **σύρίζει** still less: **τορσύνει** (from **τορίζει**, see above) Wecklein.

928—929: rightly given as one speech by Klausen, Conington and others.—Some suppose a line (for Clytaemnestra) lost after *v.* 928; but the silence is better.—**ἔκανες** Hermann.—I follow Conington in keeping **γ'**, which 'serves to bring out **ἔκανες** into prominence'.

930—932. By whom are these lines spoken? The MS. from *v.* 915 to *v.* 934 inclusive has no description of the parts, indicating merely when the speaker changes. Three views are possible.

ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν αἱμάτων...ἐπήκρισεν
τλήμων Ὀρέστης—τοῦθ' ὅμως αἱρούμεθα,
ὀφθαλμὸν οἴκων μὴ πανώλεθρον πεσεῖν. *End of Act II.*

They may be spoken, (1) By one of the performers who sing the following ode. This, I think, though commonly assumed, should be rejected as the least probable. The purpose of the lines is to relieve the feelings of the audience, which demand some human pity for the death even of a villain, when it is actually shown to us, and in particular for a mother slain by her son. But if the same speaker were to join, without interval, in a song of triumph, he had better have kept silence. (2) By one of Orestes' party, who has come on the scene. This, as we shall see, is possible; whether the play had a 'fourth actor' (in the proper sense) or not. But it is unacceptable for the reasons given on *v.* 897. (3) By Pylades. This has the advantage of being the only supposition which requires no supporting hypothesis. Pylades is the only person who is certainly on the scene at this point. It is also perhaps aesthetically the best. The feelings expressed are really those of a spectator, and Pylades is essentially a spectator (*v.* 581). He has come by divine command to see that vengeance is done. It is but natural that, however strong his sense of duty to the gods (*v.* 901), he should shudder at the actual sight of the deed: and to let this be seen is dramatically more effective. It is an advantage also that he is not an Argive. Those whom Clytaemnestra had held down under her tyranny for years would hardly have been capable of such balancing, and still less the slaves, who longed to see her burn upon the pyre-logs.

930. **τῶνδε.** *τοῖσδε* Wecklein. The hint deserves examination. The plural (not dual), in reference to two, is common enough; but here the conspicuous **διπλῆν**, if it meant simply that there are *two* persons miserable, would certainly make it strange that this idea should not be carried out in the obvious way. But *τῶνδε*, I think, is used correctly, meaning *all* concerned in this fresh calamity of the house (see next verse), including those who have died, those many who are yet to die, *and also the slayers*. **διπλῆν** means not that the calamity involves two persons, but that it is a calamity to both sides, to the slayers (particularly Orestes, *v.* 931) as well as to the slain. The internecine agony of the unhappy house and state is horrible every way, in spite of the fact (**καί**) that on this occasion the balance of sympathy is clearly against the assailed. This is the natural view of the spectators, and also of one who, though sent by the gods into the conflict, is not a born partizan.

932—933. This may be read in two ways:—(1), if the sequence is to be continuous and logical, **ἐπεὶ**..., **ὅμως** is 'even now that', '*Even now that Orestes has topped the many murders* (of the house, with a matricide), it is still better that the family in his person should be saved from extinction'. The objection to this is the order of the words, which should then have run *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπήκρισε πολλῶν αἱμάτων Ὀρέστης*, and also that it forces, by relation from the sequel, the sense of *ἐπεί*, which appears at first to be causal (*since*). I prefer therefore (2) to regard the sentence as not continuous. The embarrassed language expresses a doubting mind. It begins ('Since *many* murders'...) as if the speaker were about to excuse Orestes by the deeds of which this is the consequence. But **ἐπήκρισε**, *has topped*, is on the other side: the last act, fresh in its visible horror, will not be classed with the rest. Then, unable to feel clearly, and remembering the peril of the moment, he flings

str. 1. ΧΟ. ἔμολε μὲν Δίκα Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ

away debate with a ὅμως (*however that may be*), and hastens to join his friends.—**αἱμάτων**: the gen. seems to be analogous to that with a verb implying comparison, such as νικᾶν. Con. compares ἐφικνεῖσθαί τινος *to reach to*, which however is scarcely parallel.—**αἱρούμεθα**...πεσεῖν means not that the deaths of the tyrants are preferable to that of Orestes (which is manifest and has never been in question), but that, whatever else may be doubtful, it is better that Orestes, now absolutely the sole heir of his house, should be saved, than that he should perish, as he is likely to do unless promptly supported. The extinction of a noble house would be, especially to ancient feeling, a calamity in itself, irrespective of personal sympathies. —**ὀφθαλμὸν οἴκων**: the extinction of which would plunge the whole body in darkness... Eur. *And.* 406 εἰς παῖς δδ' ἦν μοι λοιπός, ὀφθαλμὸς βίου. Similar but somewhat different is the oriental language of *Pers.* 171 (Conington).—The (judicial) plural **αἱρούμεθα** signifies, according to Greek usage, merely that the choice is not relative to the individual, not necessarily that he speaks for any one but himself.

934. The 'Second Act' closes like the first (*vv.* 582, 649) with the scene empty, the best means open to Aeschylus for allowing the spectators to recover from such a spectacle as the preceding, and for aiding them to pass over in imagination the long interval which follows. His successors generally did their best to avoid such spectacles and such intervals, prudently under the circumstances, but painfully (and, as it soon proved, fatally) constricting the vitality of the drama. By a little boldness of assumption Aeschylus has contrived to bring so much of the contest as he must exhibit, or indeed could, into about five minutes (*vv.* 868—933). By this time of course the castle is up, the soldiers alarmed—and here falls 'the curtain'. What happened next, how Orestes ultimately triumphed and Argos was liberated, we are not informed: but it is easy to imagine, and the original audience, having the current story to guide them, already knew. The dramatist perforce overleaps the rest of the night, perhaps more (*v.* 984), and shows us next Orestes after the victory, prepared to set off, in the guise of a suppliant, for Delphi (*v.* 1032), and pronouncing, over the bodies of the tyrants brought forth for the purpose, his solemn justification and farewell to his country. The interval is represented partly by the break of the action, partly by a strophic ode, which as usual is no part of the action, but, like that between the first act and the second, points forward rather than backward, being a celebration of the vengeance and victory.

Who take part in singing it, does not appear. The maid-servants are present in the following scene; but so are others, probably as many as could conveniently be shown (see on *vv.* 974, 978, 981, 1038, 1042—1060). The play ends, like the two others of the trilogy, with a considerable display of the only splendour which Aeschylus could freely command, figures and stately costume. The words of the ode have only one mark of special character: the ὀλολυγμός (*v.* 941) was essentially a female cry (*Theb.* 254): and this does not help, since ἐπολολύξατε might be said either by women to one another, or by men calling on women. It may be guessed perhaps that in the first part (*vv.* 934—951) both the choirs, which have previously appeared, sing the *strophae* together, and the men sing the *ephymnium* (*vv.* 941—944), which in any case was doubtless followed by an ὀλολυγμός, whatever that was, from the women. Of the second part nothing can be said.

After a pause the procession enters. It is worth notice that the women have

Βαρύδικος ποινά,
ἔμολε δ' ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος, 935

935. καρύδικος.

had ample time (since *v.* 873) to change their garb of mourning (*v.* 11); an effect so desirable that it would alone have been sufficient reason for taking them off the scene.

934—970. The text is in a curious condition. The first half (to *v.* 951) is in the usual state, that is to say, almost entirely correct. It falls into two *strophae* perfectly correspondent, with a passage after the first *strophe*, which makes (according to the suggestion of Schneider and others) a natural *ephymnium* or 'burden' to the pair. So far all is simple. In the second half on the contrary there is scarcely a sentence which, without considerable change, can be scanned or interpreted. The phenomenon suggests some local accident, such as the blotting of a page. But whatever the cause, it has made restoration impossible. The general sense is visible. The metre was dochmiac, like that of the first part, consisting of the foot ⏑ – – ⏑ – with variations. We should expect two more *strophae* with *ephymnium*; and the remains, if we allow a free range for variation in the dochmiac foot, are not inconsistent with this supposition. But beyond this nothing is certain. The loss is deplorable, for the ode (what is left of it) is superb.

934—940. 'Even as upon Troy Justice, long-delayed, fell all the heavier at last, so now at last she has come from Delphi to the house of Agamemnon, in the shape of Orestes and his friend, and has taken a vengeance complete'.—This *strophe* forms one period, having the same subject throughout, Δίκη, with phrases in apposition to the subject, which translate the personification into terms of fact. The point of the reference to the destruction of Troy is that, now as then, punishment has been *delayed* only to be at last *complete*. Compare *Ag.* 367—378 where these two aspects are formally connected; see also *ib.* 803—815 and 537——542. The end of the last passage, παλαιόληθρον | αὐτόχθον' ὃν πατρῷον ἔθρισεν δόμον· | διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θαμάρτια, illustrates some of the language here.

934. ἔμολε...ποινά is one unbroken sentence, in which χρόνῳ relates both to ἔμολε and to the secondary predicate βαρύδικος ποινά. Justice came χρόνῳ and therefore βαρεῖα (cf. *v.* 61).—The comma usually placed after χρόνῳ obscures the full meaning, which is important to the sequel.—ποινά, properly *payment*, is not superfluous: the *heavy compensation* is for the time as well as for the wrong.

936—938. *So now hath Vengeance come into the house of Agamemnon, two-fold to prey, two-fold to fight, crying 'To the uttermost!'.* διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης. The vengeance was 'double' in every aspect, two victims to avenge (Agamemnon and Cassandra), two agents (Orestes and Pylades), and two criminals (Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra). The reason for insisting here upon this essential doubleness (note again δυοῖν in *v.* 943) is to remind us that Clytaemnestra, whose death we have just commiserated, could not have been lawfully spared.—The schol. and others refer διπλοῦς to the avengers, Klausen to the criminals. Both together are true, or rather part of the truth. To be exact however, we must not say that διπλοῦς λέων is *a description* of Orestes and Pylades. They might be called 'two lions' (as they are by Euripides in *Or.* 1400) but hardly 'a two-fold lion'. The mystic symbol refers directly to Δίκη, and to Δίκη only.—The remarkable contrast

διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης,
ἔλακε δ' 'ἐς τὸ πᾶν',
ὁ πυθοχρήσταις φυγὰς
θεόθεν εὖ φραδαῖσιν ὡρμημένος. 940
ephymnium. ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων
ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς
ὑπὸ δυοῖν μιαστόροιν,
δυσοίμου τύχας.

939. πυθοχρήσταις. 940. εὐφραδαῖσιν. 941. ἐπολολυξάτω.
942. τριβὰς. 943. δοιοῖν.

between this passage, in which Pylades is fully recognized, and *vv.* 865—867, where he is ignored, confirms what has been there said respecting his position in the story. After the murder his importance and rank have of course become generally known.—'ἐς τὸ πᾶν': lit. 'Utterly!', the cry of Δίκη, signifying that the punishment was to be complete, a poetical equivalent for our *No quarter!*. For the cry of Δίκη and its significance cf. *vv.* 308—313 τοὐφειλόμενον πράσσουσα Δίκη μέγ' ἀυτεῖ. For further discussion see App. I. § 27.

939—940: *the exile fitly urged by warning from Pytho's oracle divine, i.e.* Orestes stimulated by Pylades; see *vv.* 900—902, of which the words remind us, πυθοχρήσταις being taken from *v.* 900, and εὖ ὡρμημένος recalling *v.* 902 παραινεῖς μοι καλῶς. This reference points again to the leading thought, the necessity of not sparing Clytaemnestra.—Grammatically ὁ...ὡρμημένος is in apposition to Δίκα, the fact to the symbol.—πυθοχρήσταις (or πυθοχρήστοις Heimsoeth) is better than πυθόχρηστος (Butler), since the epithet is more proper to φραδαῖσιν than to φυγάς. The fem. form (see *v.* 99) accounts best of all for πυθοχρήσταις, the reading of M. The schol. has ὁ ὑπὸ Πυθοῦς χρησθεὶς Ὀρέστης, supposing that πυθοχρήστης might be passive.—εὐφραδαῖσιν M, corr. Hermann.—That it is the admonition of Pylades, and not (as commonly supposed) the command of Apollo, which is here meant, appears not only from the reference given, but from the words: φραδαί is a term too mild for the terrific and imperious oracle, and to commend (εὖ) the counsel of the god would be somewhat presumptuous. ὡρμημένος exactly describes the primary function of Pylades, as conceived by Aeschylus; he is a *permanent monitor* from Apollo.

941. ἐπολολυξάτω M, corr. Seidler.

942. ἀναφυγὰς. A dative (ἀναφυγῇ or ἀναφυγαῖς) would give a commoner construction, but the acc. is not incorrect; cf. ἐπαινεῖν, ἐφυμνεῖν (Soph. *Ant.* 658). The escape is both the occasion (dat.) and the theme (acc.).—δόμων...κακῶν both relate in different ways (*of...from*), to ἀναφυγάς.—τριβὰς M, corr. Stanley.

943. ὑπὸ...μιαστόροιν: with τριβᾶς.—δοιοῖν M, corr. Hermann.—ὑπαὶ Hermann.

944. δυσοίμου τύχας: in apposition to the whole phrase κακῶν...μιαστόροιν (Wecklein). The time of tyranny was *a weary road*, but now has come a *quick return* (ἀναφυγαί) to a better state. But δυσοίμου may equally well mean 'unhappy as a theme for song' (Blomfield), in which case it would contrast not with ἀναφυγαί but with ἐπολολύξατε: and *vv.* 815—819 are in favour of this. It would be quite in the manner of Aeschylus (see *v.* 948) to play intentionally upon *both* senses.—Here follows an ὀλολυγμός.

antistr. 1. ἔμολε δ' ᾧ μέλει κρυπταδίου μάχας 945
δολιόφρων ποινά,
ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχᾳ χερός, ἐτήτυμος

947. δὲ μάχᾳ (for δ' ἐμ μάχᾳ).

945—951. 'Again, because the crime was planned with guile, so was her vengeance; and when it came to fighting, she hit, doing justice in all to her most happy name—Δίκη, whose wrath is fatal to those she hates'. The subject, continued from the preceding strophe, is still throughout the personified Δίκη: and the point is still to justify Orestes, by dwelling on the exactness of the retribution.

945—947. The best commentary on this is *vv.* 308—311 ἀντὶ μὲν ἐχθρᾶς γλώσσης ἐχθρὰ γλῶσσα...ἀντὶ δε πλαγᾶς φονίας φονίαν πλαγήν, the passage of which we have just been reminded (*v.* 938): Retribution, Δίκη, has been true to her character, meeting guile with guile, violence with violence.

945—946. This sentence, is itself ambiguous, is explained by its close parallelism to the *strophe*, which has not been sufficiently regarded. This shows (1) that the subject, as throughout both *strophae*, is Δίκη, (2) that ποινά here as there is a secondary predicate, and (3) that ᾧ... μάχας answers to Πριαμίδαις, and therefore the supposed antecedent is dative (not nominative). *The deviser of treachery* then refers to the murderers, especially Aegisthus (schol.), not (as others) to Orestes, or (which would be here irrelevant) to Hermes. The pres. tense (μέλει), like the sing. and masc. ᾧ, is proper, because the description is primarily generic (*the deceiver* as such, cf. τὸν αἴτιον μόρου in *v.* 835); but here, as there, it is Aegisthus, the *schemer* of the plot against Agamemnon (*Ag.* 1610), who is chiefly in view.

947. ἔθιγε δ' (αὐτοῦ) ἐν μάχᾳ χερός: lit. 'and she hit him in contest of hands', *i.e.* where he used violence, so did she. μάχᾳ χερός is opposed to κρυπταδίου μάχας, the *hand*, as usual, being the symbol of *force* as opposed to *cunning*, *execution* as opposed to *device*. So Euripides (who for some reason inverted the parts in the murder of Agamemnon) says θνήσκει γυναικὸς πρὸς Κλυταιμνήστρας δόλῳ | καὶ τοῦ Θυέστου παιδὸς Αἰγίσθου χερί (*El.* 9). The phrase μάχη χερός occurs with the same sense and antithesis in Eur. *fr.* 291 νείκη γὰρ ἀνδρῶν φόνια καὶ μάχας χερῶν | δόλοισι κλέπτειν, *to encounter violence one should use stratagem.* —For ἔθιγε *hit* cf. *Bacch.* 1179 ΧΟ. τίς ἁ βαλοῦσα πρώτα; ΑΓ. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας. ΧΟ. τίς ἄλλα; ΑΓ. τὰ Κάδμου γένεθλα μετ' ἐμὲ τοῦδ' ἔθιγε θηρός. But ἔθιγε here is more general in sense, and is chosen for the sake of its natural and frequent association with χείρ, so that 'she used hands to him' would be near the meaning.—The obj. of ἔθιγε, so far as it requires or has one, is the victim of punishment, the symbolic opponent of Δίκη, understood from the preceding clause and from the whole context.—Note that, as here implied, the shares of fraud and force in the punishment are distributed between the two criminals according to their parts in the crime. Aegisthus, the schemer, perishes by pure treachery, Clytaemnestra, the executant, by violence, after the fraud has been discovered.—On the alternative construction ἔθιγε χερός see App. I. § 28.

947. ἐτήτυμος Διὸς κόρα, *the true daughter of Zeus*, signifies both that Δίκη is the true child of her father (in that she punishes the wicked, cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1064 γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγώς Wecklein), and also, as appears from the following parenthesis, that she is truly *named*.

950. τυχόντες καλῶς: we 'hit the mark' in calling her Δίκη: cf. *Ag.* 690

Διὸς κόρα (Δίκαν δέ νιν
προσαγορεύομεν
βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς)
ὀλέθριον πνέουσ' ἐν ἐχθροῖς κότον.
ephymnium. ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ κτλ.
†τάπερ ὁ Λοξίας ὁ Παρνάσσιος
μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπ' ὄχθει
ἄξεν ἀδόλως δολίας
βλαπτομέναν ἐν χρόνοις θεῖσαν ἐποίχεται
κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ
ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς
ἄξιον δ' οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν.
πάρα τε φῶς ἰδεῖν μέγα τ' ἀφηρέθην

959. *μέγαν.*

γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχᾳ νέμων, said of him who gave the significant name Ἑλένα. The context here suggests two derivations of Δίκη, probably both current and both supposed to be mystically true, (1) from Δι(ὸς) κ(όρ)η, and (2) from *δικεῖν to throw* (the spear); note *ἔθιγε* in *v.* 947 compared with Eur. *Bacch.* there cited. On the whole subject see *Seven Against Thebes* App. II., and the paper there referred to. That there is an *ἔτυμον* here is now, I think, the general view. It is adopted, I see, by Dr Wecklein (ed. 1888).

951. **ἐν ἐχθροῖς** is related to the whole phrase *πνέουσα...κότον* and specially to *κότον*. The variation (for *ἐς ἐχθρούς*) partly follows the poetical use of locative prepositions with terms of motion (see on *Ag.* 1451) and partly imitates phrases such as *γελᾶν ἔν τινι* (Wecklein), *θρασὺς εἶναι ἔν τινι*, where *ἔν τινι* expresses the object of a feeling.

952—955. Nothing is certain here, except that there is a reference to Apollo as author of the vengeance. That the object is *Δίκην* (reading *τάπερ whom*, Hermann) is a plausible conjecture, but so on the contrary is that of Wecklein, that in *vv.* 952—953 is concealed the rare word *θρίαξεν* (*ἐμαντεύσατο* Hesychius), which requires the retention of *τάπερ* (neuter plural). No reading has been proposed which properly explains *ἐποίχεται*: and indeed most of the words are open to question. The scholia are confused and untrustworthy. In *v.* 955 there seems to be something about *delay* (*βλαπτομέναν hindered*); but even this cannot be asserted positively. For conjectures see Wecklein, App. to ed. of 1885.—**μέγαν ...μυχὸν χθονὸς**: the oracular cave under the temple of Delphi.

956—957 have again neither metre nor sense. Even the general meaning is disputable, and restoration apparently hopeless.

958. If it were certain that this verse formed a complete sentence, either *ἄξια δ'* (Hermann) or *θέμις δ'* (Heimsoeth, from *θέμις· δίκαιον, ἄξιον, πρέπον* Hesychius) might be accepted. But in the wreck of the whole we cannot even be sure that there was a full stop at *κακοῖς*.

959—960 are more promising and (with *μέγα* for *μέγαν* Stanley) possibly right, 'Light has appeared, and I am delivered from the strong curb which held the house'. There is however something abrupt about this; and the recurrence of similar words at *v.* 970 (as well as the

ψάλιον οἴκων. 960
ἄνα γε μὰν δόμοις· πολὺν ἄγαν χρόνον
χαμαιπετεῖς ἔκεισθ' αἰεί.
τάχα δὲ παντελὴς χρόνος ἀμείψεται
πρόθυρα δωμάτων, ὅταν ἀμφ' ἑστίας
μῦσος πᾶν ἐλάσει 965
καθαρμοῖς ἅπαν ἐλατήριον.
τύχα δ' εὐπροσώπῳ κοίτᾳ τὸ πᾶν

964. ἀφ' m. 965. μῦσος *sic.* ἐλάσῃ m. 967. τὸ, a correction for τα or τω.

questionable appearance of παρὰ in *v.* 956) offers a ground for various hypotheses as to the distribution of *strophe ephymnium* and *antistrophe*, which would affect the reading here, but can neither be established nor refuted with the existing materials.—If in the place of οἴκων we should have the metre – ⏑ – (which however cannot be proved), οἰκέων (Sidgwick), gen. of οἰκεύς *servant*, is better than οἰκετῶν or οἰκίων.—The theme πάρεστι τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν reminds us that 'the night has passed' literally as well as metaphorically.

961. ἄνα γε μάν: *But up! i.e. rise* (Blomfield), ἀναγεμὰν M.—Whether δόμοι (voc. *O house*, Blomf.) is preferable to δόμοις must depend partly on the reading of *v.* 960.

962. χαμαι πετεῖσε κεῖσθ' M, corr. Blomfield.

963—966. 'But soon the house shall be thoroughly purged.' This must be the general sense; but the details are wholly uncertain. In the principal clause, the ambiguity of ἀμείψεται (*pass in*, *pass out*, or *alter*) makes trebly obscure the part which is to be played by 'all-accomplishing time', if indeed that personage has here any part to play. In the subordinate clause, the resemblance of ἐλάσει (-η) ἐλατήριον is open to suspicion. The very ingenious suggestion of Schütz, καθαρμοῖσιν ἀπᾶν ἐλατηρίοις, might be considered certain, if we had firm ground to go upon. But if, which (to say the least) is possible, text and comment have been mixed together and then trimmed into metrical shape, we cannot tell what to begin with, and it is best to let all alone.

967—969. 'The luck shall be turned, the house have new possessors'. This again is in ruins. It may perhaps be assumed (though it has been disputed) that the metaphor, as the schol. says, is from dice (τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κύβων μετήγαγεν), and that εὐπροσωπόκοιτος is a genuine word, applicable properly to dice and meaning 'lying so as to present a favourable face (throw)'. This will fit well with πεσοῦνται πάλιν, whether this means *will fall again*, or *will fall the reverse way*. Between these versions, as also between τύχᾳ and τύχαι, μέτοικοι and μετοίκοις, we cannot decide while *v.* 968 is uncertain; and of this it can be said only that ἀκοῦσαι at least is probably no part of the true text.—As to μέτοικοι δόμων (*aliens sojourners in the house*), which has been variously explained, it will be safest to say, that it cannot well apply to Orestes and Electra (for even this has been advanced), and that the only persons in the story to whom it will apply quite naturally are the soldiers introduced by Aegisthus.

In a general way it is manifest, if only from the future tenses of the verbs, that the conclusion (*vv.* 960—970) refers not to the fall of the tyrants but to *the sequel*, the abolition of the tyranny and restoration of the old order.

ἰδεῖν ἀκοῦσαι θρεομένοις
μετοικοδόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν.
πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν.† 970

OP. ἴδεσθε χώρας τὴν διπλῆν τυραννίδα
πατροκτόνους τε δωμάτων πορθήτορας.
σεμνοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν θρόνοις τόθ' ἥμενοι

970. See on *v.* 959—960.

971—1074. *Finale.* Orestes is about to throw himself upon the protection of Apollo at Delphi, as the god himself commanded. Bearing, in sign of this purpose, the wool-wreathed olive-bough of the suppliant, he comes to pronounce over the bodies of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus a justification of his act, producing to his fellow-citizens (*v.* 1038) in support the actual 'entangled robe' which was used in the murder of his father. He speaks at first with a certain fierce solemnity, but soon (*vv.* 989 foll.) becomes violent and confused: and when after a pause he resumes, it is manifest (*vv.* 1008 foll.), and he himself presently declares (*vv.* 1019 foll.), that he has not the control of his mind. It is the approach of the Erinnyes. With a last protest he prepares to depart, when suddenly he perceives the avenging fiends. The by-standers (for the forms are visible to him alone) vainly endeavour to persuade him that it is a delusion; he rushes away, and the play concludes with a god-speed and a few words of retrospect and doubtful anticipation.—With regard to the scenic arrangements it seems to be clear, as generally supposed, that the bodies of the tyrants are brought before the audience; but it is not so clear (as stated in the schol. to *v.* 971) that this was done by the *eccyclema*. The scene takes place, not in the interior of the house, but outside before the public, as is shown by the character of Orestes' speeches and especially by *vv.* 982 foll. There would therefore be no need for the mechanism; and we should suppose rather that the bodies are brought out. It is a further question, of small importance, whether Pylades appears in this scene. It seems to be commonly assumed that he does, but there is no indication of his presence in the text, and under all the circumstances this fact has some weight as negative evidence. Moreover as he certainly does not accompany Orestes to Delphi (see the opening of the *Eumenides*), and, not being guilty of kin-murder, is not connected with the further development of the story, it would seem more convenient in every way that he should not bear a part in this leave-taking. The assumption of his presence apparently depends on the assumption that the final scene follows instantly upon the murders: but we have seen that it does not.—It is evident that various persons are present as audience (*v.* 978) and attendants on Orestes (*v.* 981); but we cannot determine how many there were, or how they were arranged.

971—1004. The rapid fall of this speech, as the speaker's mind gives way, from the dignity of the commencement to the confusion and ruin of the close, has always appeared to me, as doubtless to many, one of the finest things in literature. I have cited (App. I. § 31) the protest of Conington against the remodelling of it, which still appears, notwithstanding the protest, in several later texts.

973—975. *Majestic they were and loving they were, when yet they sat upon their thrones; and still, it may be judged, their condition abides with them, and their oath stands true to the pledge.* That

φίλοι τε, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐπεικάσαι, πάθη
πάρεστιν, ὅρκος τ' ἐμμένει πιστώμασιν,
[ξυνώμοσαν μὲν θάνατον ἁθλίως πατρὶ]
καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι· καὶ τάδ' εὐόρκως ἔχει.—
ἴδεσθε δ' αὖτε, τῶνδ' ἐπήκοοι κακῶν,

the condition of the dead in the other world continued and corresponded in some sort to that of the living man was a general Greek belief (see for example *vv.* 353 foll.). Orestes applies this to the two corpses laid side by side, half in irony, as if to signify that their guilty splendour and pleasure is all at an end, but also with some half-voluntary recognition of the pathos inherent in their union and the σεμνότης inseparable from death. To render the fine and delicate language we require a word (which I cannot find) exactly covering the Greek σεμνός: death, and the dead, as such, are not exactly *majestic*, which best fits the first part of the sentence, but they are in themselves σεμνά, *solemn* or *impressive*, as darkness is (Eur. *Bacch.* 486), and the open sky (*Iph. T.* 1177), and all things which make man little. It is essential here to realize that the scene (to repeat it once more) takes place long after the murders, and that the bodies do not lie as they fell. They are solemnly laid out, and Orestes, who comes to make over them a solemn oration in his own defence, strikes in his opening the proper note, though he is unable to maintain it.—πάθη πάρεστι: *their conditions* (*fortunes*) *are with them* or *belong to them*, *i.e.* the continuation of their story is like what went before. πάθος is here neutral in sense (*fact*, *experience*, *incident*), as in Soph. *O. T.* 732 οὗ τόδ' ἦν πάθος *where this befell*, *Ag.* 884 ἀμφὶ σοι πάθη *facts* (*things happening*) *about you*. The use of it here is peculiarly interesting, because we see in it the germ of a most important development in the later history of the word. Practically, though not expressly and consciously, πάθη πάρεστι here means πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ σεμνοῖς εἶναι καὶ φίλοις: and it is because the language, in its popular and poetic condition, had felt such a use as conceivable, that the *incidents* (πάθη) of a thing came to mean its *qualities*, οἷον τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν, καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρόν, καὶ βαρύτης καὶ κουφότης (see L. & Sc. *s. v.*). Science, here as commonly, created a new term only by bringing out the latent, and sharpening the vague.—ὅρκος: the oath personified, 'those who swore'.—I retain the MS. text, with a new punctuation and rendering. For other views and criticism see App. I. § 29.

977. καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι stands in apposition to ὅρκος, *their oath* '*to be joined even unto death*'; *this also hath been truly kept*. Literally *that they would even* (or *also*) *die together*: καὶ signifies 'to be joined in death *as well as in all else*', in their enterprise, their lives, etc. The point which Orestes makes is that the addition καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι has been no idle form, but has been fulfilled for the conspirators more exactly than they hoped or intended.—*v.* 976 is an interpolation, as can, I think, be proved from the scholia. See App. I. § 30.

978. αὖτε, *again*, as at the time of the murder; see *Ag.* 1379 foll.—It seems probable (see *Agam.* Introd. p. lx.) that the use of the robe was invented for the stage; but from the way in which it is introduced here, without account of its preservation, we may doubt whether it was first brought in by Aeschylus. The subject may well have been treated, even as a drama, before this trilogy, the latest of Aeschylus' works.—ἐπήκοοι: not the slaves (to whose judgment Orestes would not appeal, and who, as actors themselves

τὸ μηχάνημα, δεσμὸν ἀθλίῳ πατρί,
πέδας τε χειροῖν καὶ ποδοῖν ξυνωρίδα.
ἐκτείνατ' αὐτοί, καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν
στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δείξαθ', ὡς ἴδῃ πατήρ,
οὐχ οὑμός, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε
Ἥλιος, ἄναγνα μητρὸς ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς,
ὡς ἂν παρῇ μοι μάρτυς ἐν δίκῃ ποτέ,
ὡς τόνδ' ἐγὼ μετῆλθον ἐνδίκως μόρον,
τὸν μητρὸς (Αἰγίσθου γὰρ οὐ λέγω μόρον·

981. αὐτὸν. 987. ψέγω.

in τάδε κακά, could scarcely be so described) but such other persons (men of the city, etc.) as in this scene would naturally be introduced.—"ἐπήκοος here and in *Ag.* 1420 seems to have a quasi-judicial sense, 'taking cognizance of'" (Con.). In fact Orestes treats those who have come to hear what has been done, as if they were a sort of court to whom he submits his justification.

979. τὸ μηχάνημα: *artificium illud*, 'the device which you remember'.

980. ξυνωρίς *couple*, here used, as the Engl. word may be, not for the things united but for that which unites.

981. ἐκτείνατ' αὐτοί: *spread it with your own hands*. Orestes, or more probably an attendant by his direction, delivers the robe to some of the ἐπήκοοι, the natural action of one who is courting publicity.—*αὐτό* Auratus (and many texts). The masc. (*quasi τὸν δεσμὸν* or *τὸν πέπλον*) is not likely for the poet, but not likely for a copyist either, if the original was *αὐτό*, and in neither case is the needless pronoun Aeschylean.—If the natural grouping of this scene be carefully considered, it is a strong indication that in the Aeschylean theatre the 'stage', if there was any, had an unhindered communication with the 'orchestra'; it seems naturally to exclude anything like the long narrow platform, 12 feet high, described as the Greek Stage of the Augustan period by Vitruvius. This is equally true, whoever are the persons addressed in ἐκτείνατε.—κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν: 'coming up to it and standing about it': παρασταδὸν imports an invitation and encouragement.

982. ἀνδρὸς: opposed to θηρός (Con.). See *Ag.* 1077.

983. πάντα...τάδε: not 'all these events', but 'all things *here*', 'all things in this world' (cf. *v.* 104).—"Cf. Eur. *Or.* 822 ξίφος ἐς αὐγὰς ἀελίου δεῖξαι, and the schol. there εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ ἀνελόντες τινὰ δικαίως, ὡς οἴονται, τῷ ἡλίῳ τὸ ξίφος δεικνύναι, σύμβολον τοῦ δικαίως πεφονευκέναι" (Wecklein). It is a solemn way of saying that 'this thing is not done in a corner'. —The question raised, whether there is any allusion here to the future appearance of Apollo (not Helios) as an actual witness at the trial before the Areopagus in the *Eumenides*, is to be answered by a distinction. Orestes is not thinking of the Delphian god, or of an actual trial. His appeal to Helios is merely figurative. Nor are Apollo and Helios identified by Aeschylus, either here or (as I think) in *Theb.* 844. But on the other hand the poet must have been conscious that he meant to bring on Apollo, a god associated with light (see *Theb. l.c.*), as an actual witness, and he does by this figure 'prepare the way for it' (in Dr Wecklein's phrase) and point our minds to it, if we already know the whole work.

987. Αἰγίσθου γὰρ οὐ λέγω μόρον, μη-

ἔχει γὰρ αἰσχυντῆρος, ὡς νόμου, δίκην)
ἥτις δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τοῦτ' ἐμήσατο στύγος,
ἐξ οὗ τέκνων ἤνεγ[ϰ' ὑπὸ ζώνην βάρος, 990
φίλον τέως, νῦν δ' ἐχθρόν, ὡς φαίνει, κακόν—
τί σοι δοκεῖ; μύραινά ⌜' εἶτ' ἔχιδν' ἔφυ,

990. ἐκ σοῦ [τέκνων ην ἔχη ὑπὸ ζώνην βάρος m]. 992. τ' ἦτ'.

τρὸς δέ, ἥτις ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τοῦτ' ἐμήσατο στύγος schol., proving the antiquity of the reading λέγω *count, take into account* (Turn. and many others). The purpose of the note is to indicate (erroneously) that the period includes the sentence ἥτις κτλ.... as far as *v.* 991, ἥτις δὲ being taken for ἐκείνης δὲ (μόρον λέγω), ἡ κτλ.—Con. defends ψέγω as 'more forcible', but for once seems to be clearly wrong. Orestes οὐ ψέγει the death of his mother, so that οὐ ψέγω makes no distinction of the two cases.

988. 'He has received, as from the law, the penalty of the seducer'. In ὡς νόμου (δίκην) the gen. serves as an adj., *quasi-legal*. Con. aptly quotes for the two genitives in different relations Soph. *Ai.* 998 σου βάξις ὡς θεοῦ τινὸς διῆλθ' Ἀχαιούς *a rumour, as it were miraculous, about thee*. The slaying of Aegisthus might be regarded rather as the act of the law than of the hand that did it.—Demosth. (*contr. Aristocr.* § 55) and Lysias (*de caede Eratosth.* 30) refer to an old Attic law acquitting of murder whosoever ἀποκτείνῃ τινὰ ἐπὶ δάμαρτι, ἢ ἐπὶ μητρί, ἢ ἐπὶ ἀδελφῇ, ἢ ἐπὶ θυγατρί, which illustrates the spirit of Orestes' protest, though it does not cover his case. —ὡς νόμος Port.

988—994. *But as for one who* etc...., *what think you of her? I say that, were she eel or viper, she would rot another with her touch, without a bite, if boldness and native will could do it.* "The construction (which has been misunderstood and caused needless emendation) is this: [in] τί σοι δοκεῖ; Klytaemnestra is nom. to δοκεῖ, and the verb [represented in the question by τί] is left to be filled in in the reply (like Plat. *Phaedr.* 234 C τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ λόγος; οὐχ ὑπερφυῶς εἰρῆσθαι;). The reply Orestes himself gives (εἴτε) μύραινα εἴτε ἔχιδνα ἔφυ, (δοκεῖ) σήπειν ἂν θιγοῦσα etc." Sidgwick.—In these 'almost grotesque words' (Sidgwick) the violent nature of Orestes, which has been already exhibited before the murder (*vv.* 433—453), and is felt, under the curb as it were, in the opening part of this speech, suddenly breaks from control, the sight of the robe, now outspread, being more than he can bear. His language marks the utmost degree of fury, which could be called sane. Just here, with thrilling power and truth, the poet places the invasion of the mysterious madness. After a brief pause Orestes resumes; and feeling that he has spoken of his mother otherwise than as he intended, he tries to refer to her in a milder tone, 'the mildest that he may find', a phrase exhibiting in itself the struggle within. But...he hesitates, his eye falls again upon the ensnaring robe...and he loses himself altogether, talks of the instrument, when he would be thinking of the murderess, tries to return (*v.* 998), but only plunges again, with a wild and wandering imagination, into the same topic, then, with a last effort, remembers just so much as that the thing he wanted to speak of was a wicked woman, flings at this theme a desperate platitude, utterly wide of the true mark, ...and comes to a helpless stop.—τοῦτο... στύγος: *so loathsome a thing as this.*—ἐξ οὗ Robortello.—φίλον τέως: the break (very rare after the second foot), though slight, catches the ear with ad-

σήπειν θιγοῦσ' ἂν ἄλλον οὐ δεδηγμένον
τόλμης ἕκατι κἀνδίκου φρονήματος.—
τί νιν προσείπω, κἂν τύχω μάλ' εὐστομῶν;... 995
ἄγρευμα θηρός;...ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον
δροίτης κατασκήνωμα;...δίκτυον μὲν οὖν....

993. *θίγουσαν.*

mirable and touching effect. In the next line the heavy pause at the same place gives a violent emphasis. Metrical skill could not rise higher. Note also that the effort of Orestes to speak of his dead mother not without tenderness is the last turn which makes the tension unbearable. —**γ' ἐσ'** Hermann, **τ' ἦτ'** M with **γ** (m) over the first **τ**. Possibly **τε** is right.—**θιγοῦσ' ἂν** Robort., *θίγουσαν* M.—**τόλμης ἕκατι κτλ.**: lit. 'so far as daring and will *are concerned*' or 'will go'.—**ἐνδίκου**: *natural to it*, lit. 'within' or 'according to its **δίκη**', *i.e.* its wont, way. The soul of Clytaemnestra was so deadly that, had it dwelt in a viper, it would have been the *nature* of that viper to sting by mere contact. For **δίκη**, **ἔκδικος**, and **ἔνδικος** in this sense see note on *Theb.* 594, where the **ἐκδίκως** of M is changed in the later MS to **ἐνδίκως**, because the correctors assumed the words to mean *justly* and *unjustly*. So here modern editors have written **κἀδίκου** (Turnebus) or **κἀκδίκου** (Ahrens) but wrongly. The application of **δίκη** (*nature*) to *the* nature of a particular breed illustrates the adverbial **δίκην** *like* (**λύκου δίκην**, **κύκνου δίκην**, **κυνὸς δίκην**) lit. 'after wolf-nature' etc.

995—1002. On the proposal to move these verses see Conington's note given in App. I. § 31, and refer to *sup.* 971.

995. **νιν**: *her* or *it*. Orestes means *her*, but the possible ambiguity is essential to the sequel, and the passage therefore cannot be really translated into English.—**εὐστομῶν**: **εὐφημῶν**.

996. **νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον δροίτης κατασκήνωμα**: *a bath-curtain fit to wrap the feet of a corpse*, the invention of a clouded and labouring mind, entangled in the notions of *bathing* and *death*. **κατασκήνωμα** probably meant in strictness 'a bath-*tent*', a cover for the bather going all round. **νεκροῦ** (*for a corpse*) depends on **κατασκήνωμα**, with which **δροίτης** (adject.-gen.) forms a close compound. Con. cites *Ag.* 1448.—**παραπέτασμα σοροῦ** (**ὄρους**, corr. Stanley) *curtain of a bier*, schol. If the interpretation covers **δροίτης** (and not only **κατασκήνωμα**), it asserts that **δροίτη** had the secondary sense of *bier* (or *coffin*), and so expressly does Eustathius, Commentary on the *Od.* 12. p. 1726 (**πύελος ἡ λάρναξ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν**) and *Etym. Mag.*: see Conington. This would aid the confusion of figures; but it may be based only on a hasty view of this very passage, which does not prove it. As Con. says, we want more information on the Greek customs both of bathing and burying, and also a fuller account of the murder than Aeschylus anywhere gives. From *Eum.* 636 we see that in the story which he followed, a *curtain* played some part, but the details remain uncertain.

997. **δίκτυον μὲν οὖν...πέπλους.** These words, in the frightful simplicity with which they exhibit the symptoms of mental agony, are comparable only to certain passages of *King Lear*. The disease of speech is more than perplexity, it is a kind of aphasia; and the worst of the horror is the semi-consciousness of the victim. He knows that it is *not* of the robe at all that he wants to speak, that *snare* and *wrapping* and *curtain* are all wrong and irrelevant: *No, it is not that, it is a...net...or rather a...trap as you might say, or again...*: but it will not do; nothing but *net*, *trap*, *snare* can he say.

ἄρκυν δ' ἂν εἴποις...καὶ...ποδιστῆρας...πέπλους...
τοιοῦτον ἂν κτήσαιτο φηλήτης ἀνήρ,
ξένων ἀπαιόλημα καὶργυροστερῆ
βίον νομίζων, τῷδέ τ' ἂν δολώματι

999. τοιοῦτο μὰν. φιλήτης. 1001. νομίζω.

The 'entangling robe' has fettered his senses and his intellect; he gives himself up to it; and his language at once becomes perfectly fluent and perfectly insane.

999—1002. 'What profits might be made on the highway by a robber who should set himself up (in a hostelry) with such a thing as this, and give 'the murderer's bath' to any travellers (ξένοι) who turned in!' Aeschylus has not forgotten that even the extravagance of the mind is obedient, in its own fashion, to memory and association. It is the welcome of Clytaemnestra to the pretended 'travellers' of yesterday, with its gruesome hints of 'bath' and 'bed' and 'honest eyes' (see *vv.* 664 foll.), which is reflected in this nightmare of the imagination.

999. **τοιοῦτον ἂν** Turnebus.—**φηλήτης** Scaliger; "Hemsterhuis on Poll. 9, p. 1120, quotes Sen. *Ep.* 51 'Voluptates praecipue exturba et invisissimas habe, latronum more, quos *Philetas* Aegyptii vocant: in hoc nos *amplectuntur* ut strangulent', referring perhaps to a false etymology from φιλεῖν" Con. This shows that the spelling φιλήτης is very ancient, and explains the origin of it, but φηλήτης appears to be the true form. It signifies *cozener, cheat*, but was or had been used, as the text suggests, specially for a robber who carried on his 'trade' under the pretence of entertaining travellers, a species found in all disorderly times and countries. Φηλῆται are favourites of fiction, and some strange devices have been attributed to them, but not, by any sane person, the bath of Clytaemnestra.

1000. **ἀπαιόλημα** may be construed either (1) as nom. in app. to **ἀνήρ**, *one who was a beguiler of travellers, and practised the taking of money for a livelihood* (Con., Sidgwick), or (2) as acc. after **νομίζων** (Wecklein), so that the phrase **ξένων...βίον** forms a whole 'hendiadys', *one who practised for a livelihood to beguile guests and rob them of their money.* The second seems preferable; for though the personal use of a neuter in **-μα** is sufficiently common, it joins rather ill with the participle; and further **ξένων ἀπαιόλημα** is not by itself completely intelligible.—**ξένων**: *persons entertained by him.* —**νομίζων** Turnebus. **νομίζω** (parenthetic, *I think*) can be construed, as **ξένων...βίον** (*means of living*) might stand in app. to **τοιοῦτον**: but it is more probably an error.

1001. *With this deceit might he take off many a life, and his heart often glow with—...Such a woman sharing my home may I never see! God strike me dead sooner...having no child!*—**πολλὰ θερμαίνοι φρενὶ**...The sentence is incomplete and requires, to complete it, something like **πλούτου χάρματα**, as the English requires 'the joy of his gains' or the like. The metaphor **θερμαίνεσθαι** *to be warmed* is not uncommon, in Greek as in English, for exultation, hope, and other such feelings. For the form of the phrase **θερμαίνειν φρενὶ** (**χάρματα**) *to cherish warm joys in the heart* cf. **τήκειν οἰμωγήν**, and *sup.* 508. That the sentence should be broken is only natural, where there is so complete a breach of thought. The wandering speaker, after another pause of distress, succeeds in recovering his intended theme. But his situation is such, that he cannot say even a few vague words without some fresh shock to his

πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν πολλὰ θερμαίνοι φρενί...—
τοιάδ' ἐμοὶ ξύνοικος ἐν δόμοισι μὴ
γένοιτ'· ὀλοίμην πρόσθεν ἐκ θεῶν...ἄπαις.

str. ΧΟ. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ μελέων ἔργων· 1005
στυγερῷ θανάτῳ διεπράχθης,
ἔ ἔ·
μίμνοντι δὲ καὶ πάθος ἀνθεῖ.

ΟΡ. ἔδρασεν ἢ οὐκ ἔδρασε;—μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι
φᾶρος τόδ', ὡς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος.

1004. πρόσθ'.

feelings; and at the terrible ὀλοίμην πρόσθεν...ἄπαις he stops dead, gazing, as we see from the words of the chorus and his next speech, in a sort of stupor at his mother's corpse.—On the reading see further App. I. § 32.—**πρόσθεν** Turn., πρόσθ' M.—The irregular pause after γένοιτο, here a very strong word, is correct, and is re-inforced by the following *asyndeton*.

1005. **ΧΟ.** *i.e.* the ἐπήκοοι, I think, not the maid-servants. See below.—**αἰ αἰ** M, corr. Bothe, Dindorf.—**διεπράχθης**: to Clytaemnestra (Con.), not Agamemnon, as is shown by the preceding context, and by the antithetic description of Orestes as ὁ μίμνων *he that survives*, which cannot refer to an event of the distant past: στυγερῷ θανάτῳ imports no condemnation of Orestes, but only the same natural horror which affects Orestes himself.—διεπράχθη (Agamemnon) Heimsoeth.

1007. **καὶ πάθος**: *i.e.* τὸ πάθος *as well as* or *as the sequel of* τὰ ἔργα (*v.* 1005). After doing comes by the inevitable law (δράσαντι παθεῖν) suffering or undergoing *also*. That Orestes will not escape the law is already too evident.—**ἀνθεῖ** *is breaking out* upon him, like the symptoms of a disease working from within. Con. refers to Soph. *Trach.* 1000 μανίας ἄνθος and *ib.* 1089 ἤνθηκεν, ἐξώρμηκεν (νόσος). The figure, which is commoner in Greek than in English, also suggests that the πάθος is *strong*, *abundant*, and that it *grows from* τὰ ἔργα.

1008. **ἔδρασε** Turn., ἔδρασεν M. The subject is of course Clytaemnestra.—**δὲ**: *nay*, *but*, as in *v.* 998.

1009. **ὡς...ξίφος**: *that it was dyed by the sword of Aegisthus*. The 'sword of Aegisthus' may be understood either literally or figuratively. If literally (as Paley, Sidgwick, Wecklein and others), we must suppose not only that the instrument used by Clytaemnestra was actually a sword, but also that the giving of this sword to her by Aegisthus was an incident in the story followed by Aeschylus. As to the first point, it is some confirmation of it, that in other allusions to the act the word 'sword' is used (θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον *Ag.* 1261, ξιφοδηλήτῳ θανάτῳ *ib.* 1530, Sidgwick), and there is nothing in Aeschylus to the contrary. On the other hand (see Con. on *v.* 888 *supra*), none of the allusions are such as to require precision with regard to the details. Here for instance it might be said that the murder was done 'by the sword of Aegisthus' in a general sense, whether the weapon were, speaking exactly, a sword or not, and whether or not it had ever been his property. So Euripides, who speaks of the weapon distinctly as *an axe* (*El.* 279), can nevertheless describe Clytaemnestra as ξίφεσιν ἀμφιτόμοις λυγρὰν Αἰγίσθου λώβαν θεμένα (*El.* 164). Common tradition adopted the axe; for Aeschylus the question must, I think, be

φόνου δὲ κηκὶς ξὺν χρόνῳ ξυμβάλλεται, 1010
πολλὰς βαφὰς φθείρουσα τοῦ ποικίλματος.—
νῦν αὐτὸν αἰνῶ, νῦν ἀποιμώζω παρών,
πατροκτόνον θ' ὕφασμα προσφωνῶν τόδε
ἀλγῶ μὲν ἔργα καὶ πάθος γένος τε πᾶν,

left uncertain.—Note however that here, even if ξίφος be literally correct, we may still take Αἰγίσθου figuratively, which I should prefer, as the supposed gift does not appear very probable. It is natural that Orestes should thus divert his thoughts, however abruptly, from his mother to her paramour, if only to relieve the horror which is turning his brain.

1010—1011. *It is the gush of blood which has aided time in spoiling the many hues of the embroidery, i.e.* the robe, as may still be seen, is not merely faded, but has been stained.—**ξυμβάλλεται**: *contributes.* Note that Orestes is not inferring from the appearance of the robe that a certain time, or a long time, must have elapsed since the murder. This irrelevant idea, depending on a mistranslation of ξυμβάλλεται (*agrees with*), confuses the otherwise correct explanations of Paley and Conington. The whole meaning is simply this, 'How can I doubt the fact, when I have before my eyes a memorial of it, on which, though all is faded with age, the traces are still visible?'.

1012—1015. *At last, at last he himself is before me; I utter his praises; I make his lament. And speaking to this thing, whose texture wrought my father's death, though I feel the misery of the doing, the suffering, and all, the curse of a conquest which gilds me with pollution, yet* —and here he again breaks down. The difficulty, which we may feel in this passage, arises from want of familiarity with the feelings and customs implied. As Orestes gazes at *the stain* of the robe, it comes upon him that *now* for the first time he has before him something at least of that dead father, whose rites were so shamefully omitted (*v.* 430). Over the dead, and to the dead, should have been spoken the γόος εὐκλεής (*v.* 320), the lamentation and eulogy, which Orestes was not present to perform (οὐ παρὼν ᾤμωξε *v.* 8). *Now* the dead *himself* is before the eyes of his son; is not *that* his blood? To the robe then Orestes will say, as he would fain have said to the corpse, that, sorrowful as this 'triumph' may be, and pitiful the 'glory' of it, still it is a triumph, a just victory over his father's enemies, a just restoration of his father's honour. But in the midst of his period the horror returns and he cannot go on.—**αὐτὸν**: emphatic (as usual) *himself.* The robe, having the blood of Agamemnon on it, is an *actual remnant* of him. For the importance, in the primitive view, of the presence of the dead (*i.e.* the actual corpse) at the ceremonies here mentioned see on *vv.* 322—327.—**αἰνῶ** *I praise him*, pronounce his eulogy or ἔπαινος (Eur. *Supp.* 858); see note on *Theb.* 906.—**παρών** is relative to **αὐτόν**, *in the presence of himself*, the robe supplying his place.—**ἀλγῶ μέν**. There is no formal antithesis to **μέν**, the period being broken in the middle, but the substance of the intended sequel is given summarily in *v.* 1025. "The misery of it all overwhelms him and the felt approach of the Furies is maddening him, *but yet justice is done.* The words in italics are his suppressed thoughts" (Sidgwick).—**ἔργα καὶ πάθος**: in reference to the words of the chorus μελέων ἔργων...καὶ πάθος, *vv.* 1005 foll. (Con.) where see note.—**γένος τε πᾶν**: *and all of it* or *and all that*, lit. 'and all the *kind*' or 'all the *sort*'. The phrase, for which we seem to have in English no poetical equivalent, is added

ἄζηλα νίκης τῆσδ' ἔχων...μιάσματα... 1015
antistr. ΧΟ. οὕτις μερόπων ἀσινῆ βίοτον
διὰ παντὸς ἄτιμος ἀμείψει,
ἒ ἔ·
μόχθος δ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίχ', ὁ δ' ἤξει.

1017. πάντ' ἄτιμος ἀμείψεται. ἐσ.
1018. ἤξε (the whole line by m, except μόχθω corr. to μόχθο).

to ἔργα καὶ πάθος as if to dismiss, with a desperate impatience, all that could be said on the side of ἄλγος: he feels it *all*, but struggles nevertheless to fix his mind, if only for a moment, upon the other side. For similar uses see *Theb.* 222 οὗτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος 'the gods in general', 'all the gods there are' (where, as here, the tone is impatient), *ib.* 591 ὅλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει, the one pious man 'perishes with the impious average'. See also *Ag.* 1565.—γένος πᾶν is usually rendered '(grieve) for all our house', but this seems to be grammatically impossible. A *neuter acc. pronoun* can be joined with ἀλγεῖν, χαίρειν, ἥδεσθαι to denote the object of pain &c.: ἀλγῶ τοῦτο may mean either 'I feel this pain' or 'I feel the pain of this'. From this it is a short and natural step to ἀλγῶ ἔργα 'I feel the pain of what has been done', and also to such *participial* constructions as χαίρω σ' ἐληλυθότα, ἥσθην πατέρα εὐλογοῦντά σε, where σε ἐληλυθότα stands for τό σε ἐληλυθέναι (see L. & Sc. *s. vv.*). But these have no resemblance to ἀλγῶ γένος *I grieve for our race*, which would be analogous to χαίρω σε *I rejoice for you*, a construction apparently not found or likely to be found.—μιάσματα: substituted for such a word as σκυλεύματα (*spoils*), to which the sentence would naturally lead (Wecklein).—ἄζηλα 'not admired', like other triumphs: cf. οὐκ ἐπίζηλος *winning no admiration Ag.* 930. —For other interpretations see App. I. § 33.

1016—1019. His hearers attempt to soothe him. Suffering may await him; it is the lot of mortals to pay for success (νίκη); but future trouble is future, and we need not anticipate it.

1017. διὰ παντὸς (Heath) *throughout*, adverbial, with ἀσινῆ.—ἄτιμος *without making payment* (τιμή *price*). Suffering is the price at which fate sells us our successes. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 16. 431 τοῦ νῦν οἶκον ἄτιμον ἔδεις 'thou devourest his substance *without payment made*' (L. & Sc. *s. v.*). The analogy would be more exact if we read ἄτιμον, but the transference of epithet to the payer is in the Greek style.—ἀτιμώρητος *unpunished* (schol.) does not fit the general sense. ἄνατος Wecklein.—ἒ ἔ Klausen, ἐσ (c for ϵ) M. The sigh refers to the preceding clause, not to the next. It was perhaps written there (αμειψειτε) to indicate this, which would account for ἀμείψεται.—ἀμείψει Erfurdt.

1018. *But present trouble is one thing and future trouble another*, lit. 'but of trouble some is *immediate*, some *will* come'. From the opposition of αὐτίκα we see that in ἤξει the emphasis is on the *futurity* of the expression, as distinct from a present. The remark therefore is a consolation, antithetical to what precedes, not a repetition of it. For the form cf. the English 'There are troubles and troubles' for 'All trouble is not alike'.—This line with the exception of the letters μοχθο is written in M by the first corrector, who gives ἤξε: ἥξει Turn.—The exact tone of this speech, and specially of the last verse, is of importance for the sequel. The point of it is similar to that of *Ag.* 263—267 (τὸ μέλλον ἥξει), that

ΟΡ. ἄλλως ἄν, εἰ δὴ τοῦτ' ἄρ' οἶδ' ὅπῃ τελεῖ
ὥσπερ ξὺν ἵπποις ἡνιοστρόφου δρόμου·
ἐξωτέρω φέρουσι γὰρ νικώμενον
φρένες δύσαρκτοι. πρὸς δὲ καρδίᾳ φόβος
ᾄδειν ἕτοιμος, ἡ δ' ὑπορχεῖσθαι κότῳ.
ἕως δ' ἔτ' ἔμφρων εἰμί, κηρύσσω φίλοις,
κτανεῖν τέ φημι μητέρ' οὐκ ἄνευ δίκης
πατροκτόνον μίασμα καὶ θεῶν στύγος·

1019. ἀλλοσἂν. 1023. ἡδ'.

trouble, though inevitable, need not be *anticipated*; and the moral is that Orestes should think *now* of his triumph and not of the suffering which may or will follow.

1019—1020. 'What signifies trouble *to come*, when like one that turneth his chariot, I know the fatal end to which I am running *now*?': lit. 'Vain will be its coming, since I know the point, as it were, in the turn of the chariot-course where *this present* will find its end'. Without metaphor, the meaning is this. The previous speaker, not comprehending the full import of Orestes' distress, and supposing him to be merely anxious, dwells, by way of comfort, on the difference between trouble present and trouble to come. Orestes, conscious of his real condition, rejects the comfort, with a certain irony, as singularly inapplicable to his case. Future trouble is of little concern to one who knows that his reason is *now* going, that in a few moments he will be mad. This state of mind is finely compared to the situation of a charioteer, who, as he turns his horses round the curve of a race-course, finds that they no longer obey, and already sees the point in the outer wall, where the final crash must happen.—**ἄλλως ἄν** (ἥκοι), to be supplied from **ἥξει**; the 'trouble to come' will be vain or insignificant.—**εἰ δή** *since now*.—**τοῦτο**: emphatic, as opposed to **ἐκεῖνο, τὸ παρὸν κακόν** as opposed to the remote.—**ἄρα** implies that the end is a sure inference from the present course.—**ὅπῃ...δρόμου**: the gen. is partitive-local and depends upon **ὅπῃ**, 'where *in* the rein-turn, as it were, of a chariot's course'.—**ξὺν ἵπποις** joined adjectivally with **δρόμου** 'a course with horses', *i.e.* a chariot-course.—For further discussion of the text see App. I. § 34.

1021. **ἐξωτέρω** *outwards*, not *out* but *further and further out*. The expression is relative to the curve or turn (note **ἡνιοστρόφου**) of an enclosed course, where, if the horses refused to be turned *inwards* (in relation to the curve), the chariot must inevitably be wrecked.—The effect of the order is to emphasize both **ἐξωτέρω** and **φέρουσι**. See on *v.* 924.

1023. **ἡ δ' ὑπορχεῖσθαι κότῳ**: *and my heart* (*is ready*) *to dance to his angry note*. **ἡ δ'** Abresch, **ἡδ'** M. This (adopted by Hermann, Conington and others) seems better than to make fear both player and dancer.—**κρότῳ** *to the beat* of the tune (Abresch) is a very probable suggestion. But it is not unlike Aeschylus either to write *anger* for *angry tune*, or to carry the personification of **φόβος** (as the imperious master of a dancing performer) so far as to speak of his 'anger'. I therefore leave **κότῳ**, subject to the doubt.

1024. **κηρύσσω** implies that the protest is made not merely to those present, but to all **φίλοι**, to whom it is to be conveyed on Orestes' behalf.

καὶ φίλτρα τόλμης τῆσδε πλειστηρίζομαι
τὸν πυθόμαντιν Λοξίαν, χρήσαντ' ἐμοὶ
πράξαντι μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκτὸς αἰτίας κακῆς
εἶναι, παρέντα δ'—οὐκ ἐρῶ τὴν ζημίαν·
τόξῳ γὰρ οὔτις πημάτων προσίξεται.
καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶτέ μ', ὡς παρεσκευασμένος
ξὺν τῷδε θαλλῷ καὶ στέφει προσίξομαι
μεσόμφαλόν θ' ἵδρυμα, Λοξίου πέδον,
πυρός τε φέγγος ἄφθιτον κεκλημένον,

1027. **φίλτρα τόλμης τῆσδε**: *as the persuasion* (charm) *which led me to the deed.*—**πλειστηρίζομαι** should mean, by the context, something like *cite, aver, appeal to.* Hence *καυχῶμαι* schol., probably a mere guess. Some, comparing **πλειστηριάζω**, interpret by **περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι**, *I rate highest*, which however does not fit very well. It might perhaps rather be derived (like **πληθύνομαι** *I am multiplied* or *find support* in *Ag.* 1369) from *voting.* The passive **πλειστηρίζεσθαι** might mean 'to be in a majority', and the middle **πλειστηρίζεσθαί τινας** 'to make yourself a majority' by 'calling your supporters', and hence generally 'to call in support, to cite'. The use of **πλειστηρής** in *Eum.* 766 is itself obscure and not helpful.

1029—30. **πράξαντι.....εἶναι**: *to do this if, clear of harm in consequence, I would live.* **εἶναι**: *oratio obliqua* for an imperative: Orestes was to 'do this and live'.—This is no exception to the general rule of Aeschylus, noticed on *v.* 872, that a weak word must not be made prominent by the exceptional pause after the first foot. **εἶναι** here, as the pause precisely serves to indicate, is not used in a weak sense. *Be* means *exist, live* (cf. **ἔστι** in *Ag.* 676), and implies, what we already know to be the fact, that the penalties threatened for neglect went to Orestes' life.—**αἰτίας κακῆς**, lit. 'responsibility to harm me'. The agent of the deed must be in a sense **αἴτιος**, but Apollo promised that he should take no harm in consequence.—**παρέντα**: the construction passes into the (unattracted) accusative.

1030—31. The expressive aposiopesis is used, because the only adequate alternative, to go fully as before (*v.* 268) into the horrible detail, is manifestly not to be attempted by Orestes in his present position and state of mind. It has been argued, by more than one commentator, that because he here declares the punishments beyond description, therefore the previous description cannot be genuine. But surely this inference is groundless.—**τόξῳ**: the bow-cast stands for the greatest height reachable. Cf. *Supp.* 482 *μίασμ' ἕλεξας οὐκ ὑπερτοξεύσιμον* (Wecklein).—*τοσαύτη γάρ ἐστιν ὡς μηδὲ τοξότην ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ μήκους* schol., substituting the common **ἐφικέσθαι** for the exceptional **προσ-ίξεται** of the text. For **προσικνεῖσθαι** in this sense and construction see Aristoph. *Eq.* 761 (Paley).

1034. **μεσόμφαλον...πέδον**: Delphi, supposed the centre of the earth. **πέδον** probably means *land, soil* (rather than *floor* of the temple) as apparently in Eur. *Andr.* 1085, *Iph. T.* 972. It may however be taken for *floor* both there and here.

1035. **ἄφθιτον**: a fire perpetually maintained, like that of the Vestals at Rome: Plut. *Num.* 9 *τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμέναι γάμων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*, id. *Mor.* p. 385 (cited by Stanley and others). In what place this fire was, the allusions do

φεύγων τόδ' αἷμα κοινόν· οὐδ' ἐφέστιον
ἄλλην τραπέσθαι Λοξίας ἐφίετο.
†τὰ δ' ἐν χρόνῳ μοι πάντας Ἀργείους λέγω
καὶ μαρτυρεῖν μοι μενέλεως ἐπορσύνθη κακά.
ἐγὼ δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος, 1040
ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὼς τάσδε κληδόνας λιπών,—
A. ἀλλ' εὖ τ' ἔπραξας (μὴ δ' ἐπιζευχθεὶς στόμα

1042. ἐπιζεύχθη.

not show; perhaps in the temple, perhaps in a separate building, as at Rome and Athens. The custom of the public hearth (*v.* 1036) descended from the earliest antiquity, and was probably established at Delphi long before the worship of Apollo, if not before the oracle itself.—**κεκλημένον** is merely equivalent to **κλεινόν**. So *Pers.* 2, **τάδε...πιστὰ καλεῖται**, 'These are the famed Πιστοί' (Con.).

1036. *...exiling myself for the shedding of this kindred blood.* For banishment as an expiation see Eur. *Supp.* 148 **αἷμα συγγενὲς φεύγων χθονός** etc.; for **κοινόν, συγγενές**, Soph. *Ant.* 202, *O. C.* 535 etc. —The whole of this murder-law, and the action of Apollo with regard to it in the case of Orestes, will be more conveniently discussed on the *Eumenides*.

1037. **ἄλλην τραπέσθαι** (**ἑστίαν**): *he bade me as hearth-suppliant seek no other* (*hearth than his*), the common poetical accusative of 'place to which'. The adj. **ἐφέστιον** is characteristically treated as a participle (**ἐφέστιον ὄντα**) 'when I went to a hearth (as suppliant)'.—Two other explanations are mentioned by Conington: (1) **ἄλλην** adverbial, *in another direction*; cf. Plat. *Euthyd.* 273 B **ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἀποβλέποντες**: (2) **ἄλλην** (**προστροπὴν**) **τραπέσθαι**. Neither is impossible; but the order and sound of the words point to **ἄλλην** (**ἑστίαν**).—**ἐφ' ἑστίαν** Turn. **ἄλλῃ** Hermann, but there is no ground for change.

1038—1041. These verses, in their present condition, are open to so many doubts that a conclusion is impossible. The first two are badly injured; the last two show an incomplete construction, which may either be genuine (the speech being interrupted) or produced by error. A further field for conjecture would be opened, if we supposed, with some, that this speech originally corresponded in length to the former speech of Orestes (*vv.* 971—1004). This assumption however seems needless. My own opinion, agreeing practically with Mr Sidgwick's, is (1) that nothing is lost: (2) that the confusion in *vv.* 1038—1039 is due to the interchange of the verses or parts of them, and that the sense at least is rightly given by Blomfield, **καὶ μαρτυρεῖν μέν, ὡς ἐπορσύνθη κακά, | τάδ' ἐν χρόνῳ μοι πάντας Ἀργείους λέγω**: (3) that the last sentence is broken (Franz), the speaker being again seized by the maddening distress, which portends the appearance of the pursuing fiends.—For the various conjectures see Wecklein (ed. 1885, Appendix).

1041. **τάσδε κληδόνας**: *this fame* or 'account of myself', *i.e.* the defence of his conduct which he has now made. He commends his character, whether he lives or dies, to the protection of his fellow-citizens.—*I go forth to my destiny* is the sense of the words which should have followed.

1042—1045. As to the speaker see on *v.* 1046.—**εὖ τ' ἔπραξας**: **εὖ τε πράξας** M. If **τε** here is right, the answer-

φήμῃ πονηρᾷ μηδ' ἐπιγλωσσῶ κακά)
ἐλευθερώσας πᾶσαν Ἀργείων πόλιν
δυοῖν δρακόντοιν εὐπετῶς τεμὼν κάρα,— 1045

OP. ἆ ἆ.
δμῳαὶ γυναῖκες αἵδε, Γοργόνων δίκην,

1043. φῆμαι πονηραί. 1044. ἀργείην (Ἀργείων b).

ing period, with corresponding τε, is wanting. The whole would have run '*As* thou hast good fortune, *so* thou mayest expect the same. Why then anticipate evil?' Cf. *Supp.* 225 ἀλλ' εὖ τ' ἔπεμψεν εὖ τε δεξάσθω χθονί.—μὴ δ' ἐπιζευχθεὶς...κακά: *and if evil words are not forced upon thy lips, thou shouldst shun even the omen of ill, i.e.* even words of ill omen are not to be used, when there is no need: lit. 'if thy lips are not harnessed to evil speech', the metaphor of the ζυγόω signifying, as usual, compulsion. The sentence is parenthetic.—φήμῃ πονηρᾷ Heath.—The MS. practically offers the choice between ἐπιζευχθείς, ἐπιζεύχθης, and ἐπιζεύχθη. The participle is, I think, most consistent with the passive form; with the imperative form, *do not force thy lips to evil speech*, we should expect rather the active, μηδ' ἐπιζεύξῃς, which some would read.—ἠλευθέρωσας, with stop after κακά, Blomfield.—ἀργείην M, Ἀργείων b.

1046. "Libri δμωαὶ γυναῖκες. Quis vero sibi persuadeat Oresten, quum Furias conspicere sibi videtur, tam frigida uti posse chori compellatione?... Haec tantum dignam Aeschylo vim habent, ποῖαι γυναῖκες αἵδε": Hermann. δεινὰ γυναῖκες αἵδε Burges (and Wecklein) on similar grounds. These bold conjectures well deserve attention, at least for the criticism on which they are grounded. I think it indisputable that, if δμῳαὶ γυναῖκες be read as a vocative, (1) the sentence αἵδε...δράκουσιν is not naturally arranged, and (2) the address itself is unsuitable. Why should Orestes appeal to the slave-women in particular, rather than to the others present; or why suddenly and pointedly address them as *servants*? Hermann and others were right in feeling that, by Greek usage at any rate, an appellation so introduced ought to be appropriate to the occasion. Nothing acceptable however has been found in the way of emendation. The solution which I would offer is that δμῳαὶ γυναῖκες is not a vocative but, as the shape of the sentence indicates, a nominative, *Are those slave-women? So like Gorgons* etc. As Orestes gazes at the slave-women (who are probably the only female figures upon the scene) they take to his diseased eye the form and garb of the Erinnyes. Compare the description in Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 281, where he is similarly deceived by a herd of kine. At first he tries to assure himself that it is but a trick of the imagination, that they *are* the δμῳαί, but abandons this, as his madness increases, exclaiming 'It is no fancy: they *are* the fiends!' (*v.* 1051). That the real Erinnyes, the performers in the subsequent play, do not appear in this scene, must, I think, be taken as certain, though it has been debated. To have shown them here to the audience would have completely spoiled the opening of the *Eumenides*. But this being so, it is an advantage, that the prefiguring imagination of Orestes should be provided with a visible object to work upon. The whole difficulty has arisen from treating this scene as if the only persons of importance present were Orestes and the maid-servants. The slaves have relapsed into secondary importance; the ἐκήκοοι, as is natural, take the lead. Some of these

ΟΡ. *πατρὸς γὰρ αἶσα τόνδε σιγρίζει μόρον.*
ΚΛ. *οἶ 'γώ, τεκοῦσα τόνδ' ὄφιν ἐθρεψάμην.*
ΟΡ. *ἦ κάρτα μάντις οὐξ ὀνειράτων φόβος.—*
ἔκανες γ' ὃν οὐ χρῆν, καὶ τὸ μὴ χρεὼν πάθε.
ΠΥ. *στένω μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶνδε συμφορὰν διπλῆν.* 930

926. σ' ὁρίζει. 929. κάνεσγ'.

schol. cite as a proverb *ταὐτὸ πρὸς τύμβον τε κλάειν καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα νήπιον.*—*ξῶσα* emphasizes the antithesis.

925—927. 'My words, it seems, are vain as the dirge which the tomb doth not hear.'—'Yes, vain; for my father's fate with serpent voice calls for this death'.—'Woe, woe! This is that snake, which I bare and suckled'. The connexion of this passage, which cannot be made natural in English, turns on the fact that to the Athenians *a snake* was the regular type of the dead and conventional symbol for a grave. This, as we have seen before, is of great importance for the *Choephori*: it was probably brought before the minds of the audience by the visible grave of Agamemnon, which would presumably be marked as a tomb in the usual way. It is this connexion only which links together *v.* 925 and *v.* 927, and shows why Clytaemnestra here suddenly realizes the true signification of her dream. 'You are deaf to me', says Clytaemnestra, 'as *a tomb*'. 'Yes, deaf to you', answers Orestes, 'because I hear only my father's call for vengeance'. This he puts in the form 'my father's fate *hisses* this death', *i.e.* 'threatens it like a snake', a form natural in a language habituated to the connexion of snake and tomb as symbol and thing signified. And it is equally natural that the figure, together with Orestes' action, should remind Clytaemnestra of her dream, making her feel in a moment that her death is decreed, that the 'snake' portended was her son, not (as her prophets imagined) the dead, but the living representative of the dead. (See on *vv.* 37, 885, and Introduction.) The key of the whole then is the word **συρίζει**, which I therefore restore. (It seems that in M the word was first written as **πορίζει** and corrected to **σ' ὁρίζει** by the same hand. We may, I think, take it as certain that **πορίζει** was a mere attempt to make sense, and that **σ' ὁρίζει**, which has no sense, was replaced because it was evidently the true reading of the MS. copied.)—**πατρὸς αἶσα**: the 'fate' or 'death' of Agamemnon is personified under the figure of a threatening snake.—**τόνδε συρίζει μόρον**: 'hisses this death', *i.e.* 'utters a hiss of which this death is the import': *συρίζει* has the meaning and construction of *συρίττουσα φωνεῖ* (*P. V.* 371 would be comparable, if we read with some *συρίζων φόνον*: but *φόβων* there has better authority: however the type of accusative is too common to require any special illustration).—**τόνδε** is explained by the action of Orestes and signifies that the death, which the 'hiss' threatens, is that which he is now in act to execute.—*σούρίζει* Elmsley; but, apart from the metrical question, the passage does not admit *ὁρίζει*, and *οὐρίζει* still less: *πορσύνει* (from *πορίζει*, see above) Wecklein.

928—929: rightly given as one speech by Klausen, Conington and others.—Some suppose a line (for Clytaemnestra) lost after *v.* 928; but the silence is better.—**ἔκανες** Hermann.—I follow Conington in keeping **γ'**, which 'serves to bring out *ἔκανες* into prominence'.

930—932. By whom are these lines spoken? The MS. from *v.* 915 to *v.* 934 inclusive has no description of the parts, indicating merely when the speaker changes. Three views are possible.

σαφῶς γὰρ αἵδε μητρὸς ἔγκοτοι κύνες.
A. ποταίνιον γὰρ αἷμά σοι χεροῖν ἔτι·
ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι ταραγμὸς ἐς φρένας πίτνει.
OP. ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, αἵδε πληθύουσι δή,
κἀξ ὀμμάτων στάζουσιν αἷμα δυσφιλές.
B. εἶσω· καθαρμὸς Λοξίου δὲ προσθιγὼν
ἐλεύθερόν σε τῶνδε πημάτων κτίσει.
OP. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τάσδ', ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ·
ἐλαύνομαι δὲ κοὐκέτ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ.
A. ἀλλ' εὐτυχοίης, καί σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων
θεὸς φυλάσσοι καιρίοισι συμφοραῖς.
XO. ὅδε τοι μελάθροις τοῖς βασιλείοις
τρίτος αὖ χειμὼν
πνεύσας γονίας ἐτελέσθη.

1055. πληθύουσαι. 1057. εἶσω, changed to εἶσσ' ὀ. 1060. ἀμμείναιμ'. 1065. πνεύσᾶς.

1053. *The fresh blood is upon thy hands yet*, that is to say, the ceremonial purification has not been performed. Orestes was to receive it, and did receive it, at Delphi. Cf. *Eum.* 282 ποταίνιον γὰρ ὂν (τὸ μίασμα) πρὸς ἑστίᾳ θεοῦ | Φοίβου καθαρμοῖς ἠλάθη χοιροκτόνοις. The word ποταίνιον was probably technical in this connexion: it does not imply that the actual blood of the slain was now on his hands, nor suggest anything (as the reference to the *Eumenides* will show) respecting the time which has elapsed since the murders.

1055. πληθύουσι Turnebus.

1057. *In, in! The touch of Loxias' purge will set thee free from 'this suffering'.* The by-standers, whose belief is that Orestes suffers from a mere passing hallucination, here endeavour to force him into the house, where, they say, he may soon be cured by the appropriate remedy. —εἶσω: here used, with ellipse of the verb, as an imperative, like δεῦρο *come here*, σῖγα *be silent*, etc.—καθαρμὸς Λοξίου: *the purge of Loxias*, apparently some figure, spell, or other magical object acting by the touch, which was prescribed at Delphi as a remedy against hallucination, and popularly known by this name. To prescribe medical remedies was an important function of the god (see Eur. *Med.* 666 foll.); and it seems natural to suppose that some quasi-medical devices, truly or falsely believed to have Delphian sanction, were in general use. The personification of the καθαρμός is in the poet's usual style. The name καθαρμὸς Λοξίου is treated as one word, and δέ therefore postponed.—τῶνδε πημάτων. Note that they echo, almost as if in mockery, the words of Orestes himself (*v.* 1051). Evidently their purpose is to make light of the alleged apparitions, as a mere figment of an excited imagination; and so Orestes understands them. This point is of considerable importance to the disputed interpretation of the speech.—εἶσω καθαρμὸς· Λοξίου δὲ M originally, with εἶσω changed to εἶσσ' ὀ: on the reading see further App. I. § 35.

1059. He breaks from them violently, and rushes away.—ἂν μείναι μ' Robortello.

1063. XO. *i.e.*, all the performers together. M has no designation.

1065. πνεύσας Scaliger, πνεούσας M. —γονίας. Nothing is known as to the

παιδόμοροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν
μόχθοι τάλανές τε Θυέστου·
δεύτερον ἀνδρὸς βασίλεια πάθη·
λουτροδάϊκτος δ' ὤλετ' Ἀχαιῶν
πολέμαρχος ἀνήρ. 1070
νῦν δ' αὖ τρίτος ἦλθέ ποθεν..σωτήρ,
ἢ μόρον εἴπω;
ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ, ποῖ καταλήξει
μετακοιμισθὲν μένος ἄτης;

origin or meaning of this word. The notes of the schol. (*ἄνεμος ὅταν ἐξ εὐδίας κινήθῃ· χαλεπὸν πνεῦμα*) and of Hesychius (*γονίας· εὐχερής. Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι*, probably an error) throw no light on it. Possibly it may be part of the meaning here that the 'storms' follow the *γόνος* or family: to put this secondary and allusive sense on a word normally used of winds in some different sense would be consonant with the practice of Aeschylus; but nothing certain can be determined.—For the termination *-ιας*, proper to names of winds, cf. **Ἑλλησποντίης, Στρυμονίης, Καικίας, ὀρνιθίας.**

1066—1067. *First at the beginning came the woe of Thyestes in the death, the cruel death, of his children, i.e.* of the children served as meat at the Thyestean feast. See *Ag.* 1080, 1510, 1583.—**παιδόμοροι.** It is not surprising that *παιδοβόροι*, the obvious conjecture of Auratus, should have been generally adopted: the corruption is easy and the word *παιδοβόρος* parallel to *κουροβόρος*, applied to this very subject in *Ag.* 1513. Nevertheless not only is it impossible to prove that *παιδόμοροι* is wrong; but the change leads to serious difficulty. Hermann, objecting to the weakness of the addition *τάλανές τε*, proposed to eject *τε Θυέστου* as the explanatory addition of a copyist; and the recent commentators properly support the objection. Conington however remarks truly that copyists in general show a tendency not to make paroemiac verses, but to fill them up to the regular anapaestic metre: and when he says "*τάλανές τε* appears weak, the conjunction bringing out the insufficiency of the epithet after *παιδοβόροι*", he points, I think, to the true solution. With the MS. text *τάλανες* is right: it is an addition to *παιδόμοροι*, a climax, not an anticlimax, and the conjunction properly 'brings this out'. In short *παιδοβόροι*, plausible though it seems at first sight, is nothing more than a word which Aeschylus might have used in this connexion, but, as the context shows, did not. On the contrary he has been careful to put the allusion in a gentler and less specific form, so as to be in keeping with the majestic melancholy of this whole conclusion.

1068. "**ἀνδρὸς** is emphatic, opp. to [*παιδόμοροι*] as Peile remarks, comp. *Ag.* [1505] *τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας*. There is also doubtless the notion of *ἀνήρ* as opp. to *γυνή*, the crime of Clyt. being that she, a woman and a wife, raised her hand against a man and a husband" Conington. —**βασίλεια**: *i.e. βασιλέως.*

1071. **τρίτος...σωτήρ.** For the natural association of these words through the custom of the grace-libation, see on *v.* 576. The subject and the allusion are especial favourites of the poet.

1074. **μετακοιμισθέν**, "with *καταλήξει*, *μετά* simply expressing the change from storm to calm involved in *καταλῆξις*" Conington.

APPENDIX I.

§ 1.

v. 1. Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῷ', ἐποπτεύων κράτη.

Mr Macnaghten's explanation of this verse removes all difficulty, and is in my judgment decisive. The triple invocation, impressively scanned by the exceptional metre, has a solemn, religious effect; and πατρῷε, as epithet of Hermes, is perfectly clear. Probably this view would have been proposed and accepted before, but for the fact that, from the loss of the original text, the passage comes to us entangled with the comic discussion of it in Aristophanes. As Mr Macnaghten remarks, we need not expect to find there the true explanation. It was enough for Aristophanes that there was a possible ambiguity; and his object was effected, if he raised a laugh.

He offers two explanations: First "Euripides", taking πατρῷ' for πατρῷα, asks if πατρῷα κράτη (*violence to a father?*) describes the murder of Agamemnon (*father* of Orestes), which Hermes, being the patron of treachery and deceit, patronized or 'regarded' by his presence. It is worth notice that "Euripides" does not assert this view, but only suggests it as possible; his object is merely to prove ambiguity, and his malice is the greater, if he knows that he is wrong. This interpretation Aristophanes at any rate can hardly have regarded as seriously entertainable, nor is it, though defended by Aristarchus (according to the scholia on Aristophanes) and others: κράτη without explanation could not bear such a meaning, and πατρῷα must refer, if to any father in particular, to the father of Hermes. There would be a still more fatal ambiguity in ἐποπτεύων, which cannot by itself mean 'regard *with aversion*'. "Euripides" ironically supposes that Hermes patronized the murder, and so the word would rather imply; but such a suggestion would be inappropriate to Orestes.

"Euripides" is answered by "Dionysus" or, according to a probable correction of the MS., by "Aeschylus", who says that Orestes

> Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε, καὐδήλου λέγων
> ὁτιὴ πατρῷον τοῦτο κέκτηται γέρας.

It is curious that this interpretation is itself open to misunderstanding. The expositors of Aristophanes generally suppose "Aeschylus" to mean, that the function of Hermes as a deity of the lower world (χθόνιος) is a πατρῷον γέρας, because *hereditary* and derived from his father Zeus. If this were so, we could only say, that there is little to choose between the explanation of "Aeschylus" and that of "Euripides"; for this descent of Hermes' function, even if true in fact, has no bearing on the prayer of Orestes. But "Aeschylus" does not mean this. If he had, he must have said ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦτο κέκτηται γέρας, or the like. The reference to Zeus is the essence of the supposed explanation, and could not be omitted. By πατρῷον γέρας "Aeschylus" means simply the function of a θεὸς πατρῷος, a function connected with the worship of ancestry; and his explanation is thus very near to the truth. "Euripides", replying, is apparently about to raise the objection that, if the χθόνιον γέρας of Hermes is πατρῷον, the double invocation is tautologous, when "Dionysus" cuts the debate short with a vulgar joke. For the sake of this joke, he chooses to assume that πατρῷον in the explanation of "Aeschylus" means *hereditary*—

> ΕΥΡ. ἔτι μεῖζον ἐξήμαρτες ἢ 'γὼ βουλόμην.
> εἰ γὰρ πατρῷον τὸ χθόνιον ἔχει γέρας,—
> ΔΙ. οὕτως ἂν εἴη πρὸς πατρὸς τυμβωρύχος.

"He must be by hereditary profession a grave-robber". But we must not allow "Dionysus" to mislead us.

Indeed it is possible that "Aeschylus" is not only near the truth but perfectly right, and agrees with Mr Macnaghten. It is commonly assumed, that he accepts from "Euripides" the reading πατρῷα ἐποπτεύων κράτη, explaining it by πατρῷον κέκτηται γέρας. But he may refer simply to the vocative πατρῷε, leaving ἐποπτεύων κράτη, as he was entitled to do, without further remark. My own belief is that by the words Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε "Aeschylus" does actually mean to imply that πατρῷ(ε) is vocative.

To sum up—Aristophanes fixed on the passage as one that could be twisted into different senses. He makes "Euripides" distort it violently and "Aeschylus" explain it with substantial correctness, but so as to

leave a certain ambiguity, inherent in the words and only to be removed by careful pronunciation; and he thus acknowledges, as the fact is, that Aeschylus is not always clear. Apart from his discussion, which may be set aside as not serious, the verse need not give any difficulty.

Still less instructive are the debates in Aristophanes on the 'tautology' of *ἥκω...κατέρχομαι* and *κλύειν, ἀκοῦσαι*. The first is put in solely for the sake of the point raised by "Euripides" in *vv.* 1167—8. This, though "Dionysus", with affected simplicity, professes himself unable to understand it, is nothing more than a question of law and legal interpretation, as to what constitutes the status of a *returned exile*, and whether, if actual re-entry into the country precedes legal re-admission, the legalizing ordinance 'dates back'. It had probably attracted attention in some recent proceedings, and produced some unpopular decision. The other debate as to *κλύειν, ἀκοῦσαι*, has its sufficient cause in the jest of "Dionysus" at *v.* 1175.

It has been supposed, that *κατέρχομαι* and *ἀκοῦσαι* are not really the ends of the respective sentences; but this seems improbable, and in the first case scarcely consistent with Aristophanes. It is clear that "Aeschylus" at *v.* 1127 is not interrupted, but stops of his own accord; and at *v.* 1171 we should naturally think that he goes on where he had left off.

§ 2.

v. 32. *τόρος γὰρ φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ κτλ.*

I have followed here (without hesitation, as far as my own judgment goes) those who retain the MS. reading *φοῖβος* or *Φοῖβος*. But in deference to the many critics who have defended *φόβος*, among whom is Conington, this reading also must be carefully considered.

The evidence of metre may be set aside: if any change is necessary on this ground (see App. II.), Lachmann's *δὲ* for *γὰρ* is as probable as Heath's *τόρος γὰρ ὀρθόθριξ φόβος*. Archaic language often has *δέ*, where *γάρ* would be required by later usage, and in such a place *γάρ* is a probable error.

Nor need we rest anything upon the literary objection to such a phrase as *φόβος...ἔλακε περὶ φόβῳ*. It is shown that similar repetitions occur in other writers (Sophocles, Euripides, Milton). If *φόβος* were the traditional reading, this would or might be a good reason for not changing it; but it can be no argument against *φοῖβος*; and until this is displaced, *φόβος* cannot be entertained.

On what grounds *φοῖβος* has been rejected, it is not easy to say,

since in general it is not even discussed. Wecklein, who retains it, rightly regards it as the key to the whole metaphor, in which the alarm of Clytaemnestra is likened to prophetic possession. Possibly some difficulty has been felt in the use of φοῖβος or Φοῖβος, when there is no specific reference to the god of Delphi. Doubtless the poet would not have so used the name Ἀπόλλων: he must at least have written Ἀπόλλων τις. But the analogy of βάκχος, and general probability, seems amply sufficient to justify us in supposing, where we find reason, that φοῖβος was not in the first instance a proper name, but transferable to any power or person exercising or causing the *phœbic* ecstasy.

The case would be altered, if there were any positive evidence in favour of φόβος. Conington alleges (1) the language used by Orestes in *v.* 928 ἦ κάρτα μάντις οὐξ ὀνειράτων φόβος, and (2) the scholia. The first is a good illustration, but cannot prove more than that φόβος is admissible, which is not in dispute. We may add that, as an illustration, it is pertinent to φοῖβος as well as φόβος: for it is probable that Aeschylus would have connected the words. The superficial analogy is obvious; the scientific objection would have been to him imperceptible and irrelevant.

There remain the *scholia*. On *v.* 32 we find σαφής (explaining τόρος): on *v.* 35 ἀμβόαμα μυχόθεν ἔλακε περὶ φόβῳ we have three notes: ἐκ τῶν τῆς καρδίας μυχῶν (!)—περισσῶς τῷ φόβῳ—ἀναλακεῖν καὶ βοῆσαι τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν ἐποίησεν ὁ σαφὴς φόβος, δι' ὀνείρων μαντευόμενος. I give the first of the three, though it does not bear on the matter, as it is well to remind ourselves with what sort of expositors we are dealing. The second was cited by Paley (not by Conington) for φόβος: he takes it to mean that φόβῳ is superfluous, because φόβος is the subject of the sentence. But this would have been expressed by περισσὸν τὸ περὶ φόβῳ. The annotator supposed (erroneously) that περί was adverbial, and explains it by περισσῶς *exceedingly*: he adds τῷ φόβῳ only to mark more clearly that φόβῳ, according to him, is instrumental and not dependent on περί.

The writer of the third note may doubtless have read, or wished to read, φόβος in *v.* 32. But we cannot be sure of this: he is resuming the whole passage in a free paraphrase, and may have put in φόβος simply to represent περὶ φόβῳ. Or else, not understanding the figure (as, if he is the author of the note on μυχόθεν, he assuredly did not), he may simply have chosen to assume that φοῖβος was an Aeschylean equivalent for φόβος. No one, who knows the *scholia*, will regard this suggestion as at all unlikely or uncharitable.

Lastly,—and this is to my mind the decisive argument—we ought

to keep φοῖβος in any case because, unless it be genuine, there is no account to be given of it. The alternative hypothesis is that the original text was τόρος γὰρ ὀρθόθριξ φόβος κτλ. How, or with what motive, can this have been altered to what we find?

If therefore it were necessary to suppose an error either in the text or the *scholium*, we should correct the *scholium*, reading ὁ σαφὴς φοῖβος. But it appears that both are correct.

The suggestion φοῖτος for φοῖβος (Hermann, Bamberger) does not merit so much consideration. There is no evidence for it whatever; and even the existence of the word φοῖτος does not appear to be certifiable (see on *Theb.* 648).

§ 3.

v. 61. τὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ σκότου
μένει χρονίζοντ' ἄχη βρύει†.

ἄχει, corrected to ἄχη M.

To simplify the discussion of the whole period, I have withdrawn this clause for separate treatment. The general sense of it is not disputed: 'Punishment is sometimes deferred'. In *v.* 62, which does not answer in rhythm to *v.* 51 (δνόφοι καλύπτουσι δόμους), there appears to be some error.

The reading now in possession is that of F. W. Newman μένει χρονίζοντας ἄχη. This appears to me inadmissible. When punishment is deferred, it is the vengeance which χρονίζει, not the criminal. And apart from this, the word βρύει must, on technical grounds, be retained as genuine. It is a word comparatively rare even in poetry, not likely to be invented by a copyist: it is defended (as I shall presently show) by a good and ancient note in the *scholia*: and it is further certified by a curious error in another place.

After *v.* 68 (παναρκέτας νόσου βρύειν) the MS., by a manifest blunder, repeats the words (τοὺς δ' ἄκραντος ἔχει νύξ) which follow βρύει in our passage. Strangely enough, this blunder has been alleged as evidence against βρύει. Surely it is as strong a proof as we could have, that the copyist, who made it, had found βρύει in the first place, as well as βρύειν in the second. It was because the two verses ended with words nearly identical, that, when he came to the second place, his pen ran on inadvertently with words which belonged to the first.

The *scholia* are also adduced against βρύει, but in reality establish it. We may indeed dismiss the gloss ἀνθεῖ (to *v.* 62), as later than

the corruption. We may also dismiss the note on the whole passage given at *v.* 59—ἡ δὲ τῆς δίκης ῥοπὴ τοὺς μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἀμύνεται· ἄλλοις δὲ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ἐᾷ τὴν τιμωρίαν, οὐκ ἀθρόως αὐτοὺς ἀμυνομένη, ὥστε τοὺς ἀδικημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν λυπεῖσθαι· ἄλλους δὲ σκότος καλύπτει κτλ.— a loose paraphrase from which we learn only that the writer held the common and obvious opinion about the general sense, and some private opinion about ἄχει or ἄχη (see ὥστε...λυπεῖσθαι), which will scarcely command respect. (His τοὺς is of no importance: he takes τοῖς to be a peculiarity of 'Aeschylean' grammar.)

But the note on *v.* 61 is from another and a better hand: ὅσα δὲ ὑπερτίθεται, ταῦτα "σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν" (Hom. *Il.* 4. 161). In such a miscellaneous heap of commentary as the *scholia* to Aeschylus, a quotation is generally, and for obvious reasons, an encouraging sign. And this writer really has something to tell us. "But when penalties are deferred, then the sinners, as Homer says, *pay with heavy interest*". How did he get at this explanation, and what put Homer's phrase into his mind? He punctuated the text thus—

τὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ σκότου
μένει, χρονίζοντα [ἄχη] βρύει.

He took τὰ to be *relative* and equivalent to ὅσα (which itself, whether right or wrong, proves him a man of some learning, and far superior to the average scholiast). And he would translate literally thus—"and those (punishments), which bide in the twilight, grow while they wait", *i.e., and sometimes punishment delays in twilight, growing the while*, the increase of the deferred penalty being compared to the growth of an *embryo*, which to a Greek mind naturally suggested the notion of τόκος *interest*.

This explanation is at any rate scholarly and poetical, and I believe it to be right. Whether the author of it had the word ἄχη in his text or not, is uncertain; but I think he had not, and at all events it should be omitted. That the relative τά refers to *woes* or *punishments* is shown sufficiently by the context: ἄχη was inserted, probably at first in the margin, by some one who understood the meaning rightly, and wished to show what it was.

§ 4.

vv. 59—73.

Dr Wecklein has a careful and interesting exposition of this passage, which I think it well to give in his own form.

"The decision of vindictive justice quickly espies and visits the manifest offenders; while for those whose guilt hides in twilight, the punishment waits deferred; and others are covered by ineffectual (*i.e.* punishment-frustrating) night. Murder is manifested by the blood-stain, which never dissolves away; postponement, obtained at the expense of torture to the soul, produces in the case of the murderer only a rank growth of disease; there is no concealment for him, and all the rivers of earth united will not wash the stain from his hand". The triple distinction of *day, twilight, night* prefigures the three divisions of the answering passage—the crime always visible by its trace, postponement (of the penalty), and concealment.

The precision of this correspondence is at first sight attractive; but can it really be found in the text? It depends essentially upon three conditions: (1) that *vv.* 64—68 should be divided into two propositions; accordingly Wecklein reads, with Schütz and others, διαλγὴς δ' ἄτα: (2) that διαφέρει τὸν αἴτιον means 'defers the (punishment of the) guilty': and (3) that we accept Dr Wecklein's interpretation of θιγόντι δ' οὔτι νυμφικῶν ἑδωλίων ἄκος.

On the first two I refer for my own opinion to the notes; and proceed to the third. It will be seen that in Dr Wecklein's view the base of the whole is the antithesis of *manifest crime* and *hidden crime*. It is therefore essential to find this idea expressed on both sides of the supposed parallel. In the first part (*vv.* 59—63) it is readily found. In the second (*vv.* 64—73) it does not at first sight appear at all; but Dr Wecklein would find it in θιγόντι δ' οὔτι νυμφικῶν ἑδωλίων ἄκος, which he would render by "though the man goes to the inmost chamber, there is no hiding-place for him". The νυμφικὰ ἑδώλια, or *women's chambers*, he takes to signify 'the best place of hiding', and he shows that this view of the θάλαμος is actually found in Solon (4. 30) εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῷ ἢ θαλάμου.

For myself I cannot accept this, or think that it will prevail against the common opinion. For (1) there is a wide difference, for the purpose in hand, between μυχὸς θαλάμου and νυμφικὰ ἑδώλια: μυχός marks the place as *interior*, which is the point required, whereas νυμφικά does not suggest this, and does suggest something wholly different and, upon the view under discussion, irrelevant. And (2) ἄκος is not *hiding*, which is the idea we are to find. And (3) θιγόντι ἑδωλίων is not φυγόντι εἰς ἑδώλια, nor equivalent to it. The essential notion of *escape* is here also absent and inapprehensible. Nor have we the right to change οἴγοντι.

Dr Wecklein is perfectly right in saying that the general purpose is to distinguish murder from other crimes as specially exposed to punishment (see *Ag.* 990 and *Eum.* 648). But the point made is not so much that murder is manifest, as that it brings upon the murderer an indelible and destroying pollution.

§ 5.

vv. 74—79.

ἐμοὶ δ'—ἀνάγκαν γὰρ ἀμφίπτολιν
θεοὶ προσήνεγκαν· ἐκ γὰρ οἴκων
πατρῴων δούλιόν μ' ἐσᾶγον αἶσαν—
δίκαια καὶ μὴ δίκαια
78. πρέποντ' ἀρχὰς βίου
βίᾳ φερομένων αἰνέσαι, πικρὸν φρενῶν
στύγος κρατούσῃ, κτλ.

πρέποντ' ἀρχὰς βίου:—πρέποντά μοί ἐστι καὶ ὀφειλόμενα, ἐξότε τοῦτον ἐπανήρημαι τὸν βίον, τὰ τῶν πρὸς βίαν κεκτημένων ἐπαινέσαι, καλυπτούσῃ τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀποστύγησιν καὶ μηδὲ παρρησίᾳ τὸν δεσπότην κλαιούσῃ. *Schol. Med.* to *v.* 78.

This unlucky note must have caused the waste of as many days as there are words in it. The text, as I have tried to show, is regular and clear. Modern scholars would have explained it easily, if they had not assumed, out of mistaken charity towards this critic, that he must have been commenting upon something else. He had our text; he had also before him an excellent paraphrase of it, which should have kept him right. And the whole perplexity—if the reader had worked through it, he would excuse impatience—has arisen simply because the Byzantine could not understand either Aeschylus or the scholars of Alexandria.

He writes thus: "*πρέποντ' ἀρχὰς βίου*: 'It is proper for me, that is to say, my duty, since I have assumed this state of life, to praise the conduct of those who wrongfully possess me'."—By 'since I have assumed this state of life' he seems to interpret either *ἀρχὰς βίου* or something else which he found in the place of it. It has been assumed in his favour that he found *ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς βίου*, and an Iliad of critical games has been celebrated in honour of this 'original reading'. But why should we suppose that he did not find *ἀρχὰς*? We have his own assurance that he did: he has written the very word at the head of his note. And what after all is the value of the defence which is made for him? If he did find *ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς*, his interpretation is still absurd: "from the beginning of (my) life" is not the same as "from my assumption of this state of life". We might as well then leave him where he is.

But in truth we do him injustice. He had not formed, and did not mean to express, any opinion whatever about the meaning or construction of Aeschylus. The paraphrase is not his; all that he has

done is to mis-apply it. He found it in his margin, written, after the older fashion, without head-words, but otherwise as he gives it. He saw that it began with *πρέποντα* and contained the word *βίον*. He concluded that the point in the text to which it applied was at *πρέποντ' ἀρχὰς βίου*, and prefixed this snippet to it accordingly. If he had been asked, how from *ἀρχὰς βίου* we are to get *ἐξότε τοῦτον ἐπανῄρημαι τὸν βίον*, he would have referred us to the author of the note, adding probably in his heart that "those ancients, Aeschylus and Aristarchus, could say anything; it was something about 'beginning of life'." He did not see that *the paraphrase embraced the whole period ἐμοὶ δὲ... παχνουμένην, that ἀρχὰς βίου βίᾳ φερομένων is represented, correctly, by τῶν πρὸς βίαν κεκτημένων, and that ἐξότε τοῦτον ἐπανῄρημαι τὸν βίον is a summary of the parenthesis ἀνάγκαν γὰρ...αἴσαν, 'since I have become a slave'.*

As might be expected, he next stepped, or pushed another, a little deeper into the mire. From his lemma and note together, it is a natural inference that *ἀρχὰς βίου* is in some way equivalent to *ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς βίου*. Some one, perhaps vaguely recalling the classical use of the accusative *ἀρχήν originally*, perhaps only taking a shot, drew this inference, and wrote accordingly the note to *v.* 74—*τὸ ἐξῆς, ἐμοὶ δὲ πρέποντα καὶ ὀφειλόμενά ἐστιν ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς βίου τὰ τῶν βίᾳ με φερομένων αἰνέσαι πικρὸν φρενῶν στύγος κρατούσῃ, ἀνάγκην γάρ μοι οἱ θεοὶ προσήνεγκαν.* This note, of which the purpose is to show, by giving 'the order of the words', that *ἀνάγκαν...αἴσαν* is a parenthesis, combines part of the text with part of the paraphrase as applied by the note on *v.* 78, and by means of *ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς βίου* attempts to reconcile them. Finally the copyist of the *Mediceus*, in transcribing the note to *v.* 74, converted *ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς*, by a slip of the pen very natural under the circumstances, into a meaningless *ἀπαρχὰς*, and left us to worry over the result.

§ 6.

vv. 132—137.

πεπρα·γμένοι γὰρ νῦν γέ πως ἁλώμεθα
πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης (ἄνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο
Αἴγισθον, ὅσπερ σοῦ φόνου μεταίτιος),
κἀγὼ μὲν ἀντίδουλος, ἐκ δὲ χρημάτων
φεύγειν Ὀρέστης ἐστίν, οἳ δ' ὑπερκόπως
ἐν τοῖσι σοῖς πόνοισι χλίουσιν μέτα.

132. *πεπραμένοι* Casaubon. 136. *φεύγων* Robortello.
137. *μέγα* Turnebus.

These three ancient and prescriptive changes of the text (all of which I believe to be needless and wrong, the two last certainly, and the first probably) are closely connected together. It will be convenient to begin with the second, φεύγων for φεύγειν.

Here at least the technical argument against the proposed reading is strong: φεύγειν is superficially difficult, φεύγων an obvious expedient. It is remarkable that φεύγειν should have been preserved, and almost incredible that, if φεύγων was the original, φεύγειν should have been substituted and suffered to remain.

But further it is doubtful whether the proposed construction (φεύγων ἐστίν = φεύγει *is an exile*) is here admissible. The statements about such constructions, now current in grammars and elsewhere, are misleading and exaggerated. In Aeschylus there is not apparently a single instance applicable to this case. We may dismiss at once all those examples, in which the participle is *perfect*. They are a regular part of the language both in prose and poetry. To this class belongs, with many others, *Pers.* 374 πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον. Dindorf (*Lexicon Aeschyleum*, s.v. εἰμί) counts this as a *present*; but it is *perfect* enough, if we may so say, for our present concern.

Of the compound paulo-post future Aeschylus has one certain example (*Supp.* 469 τίν' αὐδὴν τήνδε γηρυθεῖσ' ἔσει;), and one (disputed) of the *aorist* part. with γενοῦ, in a place where this 'compound tense' is peculiarly useful (see on *Ag.* 97). But neither are these to the purpose, though it may be noted that Aeschylus is less partial to them than others. (*Cho.* 124 is scarcely an instance, since, even if γένοιο κηρύξας be read, it is not a synonym for κήρυξον.)

The examples, which do concern us, are those in which the *present* participle is joined as complement to εἶναι (or γίγνεσθαι). Dindorf gives the following:

(1) *Ag.* 676 (671) εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐμπνέων.

(2) *Cho.* 238 (239) ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον (cf. *Cho.* 692).

(3) *Eum.* 191

οἵας ἑορτῆς ἔστ' ἀπόπτυστοι θεοῖς
στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι.

(4) *Eum.* 547

πρὸς τάδε τις...ξενοτίμους δωμάτων
ἐπιστροφὰς αἰδόμενός τις ἔστω.

(5) *frag.* 281. 6

κἀγὼ τὸ Φοίβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα
ἤλπιζον εἶναι, μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνῃ.

On (1) see note there. In (3) the predicate is *ἀπόπτυστοι θεοῖς* and *ἑορτῆς στέργηθρα ἔχουσαι* is not predicate, but truly participial. In (4) the addition of *τις* is a vital difference: *αἰδόμενος* is an epithet to *τις* not a complement to *ἔστω*, and *αἰδείσθω*, by losing the significant echo of *τις* the subject, would not have given the same tone. In (5), as in (3), the participle is not predicate, but causal; the predicate is *ἀψευδές*.

There remain only (2), *ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον*, and *ἦν εὐβούλως ἔχων*. In this particular form (*ἔχων* with adv.) the pres. part. predicate is common enough (Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* § 353, n. 3), and naturally so. In *ἀναγκαίως ἔχον*, as a fixed equivalent for *ἀναγκαῖον*, the verbal force of *ἔχον* is merged and lost. So also such a 'participle' as *πρέπον* (*v.* 78), which is not less purely adjectival than *ἄξιον*, has naturally the construction of an adjective. But such uses prove nothing beyond themselves.

I have not reviewed the whole literature for this argument, nor is it necessary, as of course I do not mean to deny that predicative present participles are occasionally employed *if clear expression requires them*, *e.g.* Plato *Laws* 908 B *οἷς γὰρ ἄν, μὴ νομίζουσι θεοὺς εἶναι τὸ παράπαν, ἦθος φύσει προσγένηται δίκαιον, μισοῦντές τε γίγνονται τοὺς κακούς, καὶ κτλ.*, the best of Kühner's examples. The bulk is made up by such cases as "*στείχων ἂν ἦν* Soph. *Phil.* 1219, *πῶς ἦτε...πάσχοντες τάδε* Eur. *Cyc.* 381, *ἐγγὺς τῆς θύρας βαδίζων εἰμί* Ar. *Ran.* 35", where the participle is misconstrued, or "*ἀπαρνεόμενός ἐστι* Herod. 3. 99" where the reading is doubtful. This much at least is true, that the construction is rare, and that Aeschylus shows no partiality to it. Nor is it treated in the conjectural text, as he would presumably have treated it. When the verb *εἶναι* is needless, Aeschylus commonly omits it. If he had allowed such a sentence as *ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντίδουλός (εἰμι), ἐκ δὲ χρημάτων φεύγων Ὀρέστης (ἐστί)*, he would probably have omitted the verb in both places, and specially in the second.

But in reality *ἐστίν* is retained because it is indispensable; and this gives us the clue to the passage. The whole of it hangs upon the leading word *πεπραγμένοι*, from which is supplied *πεπραγμένη εἰμί* with *ἀντίδουλος*, and *πεπραγμένος* with *ἐστίν*.

To clear the ground let us first observe that the clause *ἄνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο Αἴγισθον, ὅσπερ σοῦ φόνου μεταίτιος* is what, for want of a more appropriate term, we must call a parenthesis. Compare *δι' αἰῶνος δὲ...κέαρ* (*v.* 26) and *ἡ δὲ πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται* (*v.* 240). It is characteristic of Aeschylean syntax to append in this way qualifications or explanations, which, in a more developed style, could be worked into the main

structure. Thus here, where another might have said 'taking as the price' etc., Aeschylus says 'and she took as the price' etc.

Next, in πεπραγμένοι, πράσσειν means 'to deal with by way of a πρᾶξις' or 'bargain', especially a dishonest bargain, as in Soph. *Ai.* 445 νῦν δ' αὐτὰ (the arms of Achilles) Ἀτρεῖδαι φωτὶ παντουργῷ φρένας ἔπραξαν *the Atridae by a corrupt bargain have given them to Odysseus (have jobbed them away to him* L. and Sc.), Soph. *O. T.* 124 εἴ τι μὴ σὺν ἀργύρῳ ἐπράσσετο *unless there was some trafficking in bribes.* When the matter of the arrangement or negotiation was a person, the verb could take a personal object, as in Pind. *Nem.* 5. 35 κατένευσέν οἱ Ζεὺς... ὥστ' ἐν τάχει...τινὰ Νηρεΐδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν, γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, *Zeus promised to get him a Nereid for his wife by arrangement with Poseidon.*

The part filled in this last example by ἄκοιτιν is filled in our passage by the clauses κἀγὼ μὲν ἀντίδουλος (πεπραγμένη εἰμι), ἐκ δὲ χρημάτων φεύγειν Ὀρέστης (πεπραγμένος) ἐστίν: but, as in the clause ἄνδρα δὲ... μεταίτιος, the construction is co-ordinate, instead of subordinate. The literal translation is 'and I by the bargain have been made to be a slave, while Orestes has been made to be an exile'. Here the secondary predicate ἀντίδουλος requires no comment. For the inf. φεύγειν, see the same construction with the active πράσσω in Demosth. 888. 14 τὴν ναῦν μὴ δεῦρο πλεῖν ἔπραττεν *he procured by negotiation that the ship should not sail here.* It is consecutive, and equivalent to ὥστε φεύγειν. The use of φεύγειν (not φυγάς) is not dictated by metre merely, but has this advantage, that φεύγειν cannot be taken otherwise than as intended. The verb ἐστίν is given, because, though theoretically it might be supplied, it is practically necessary, to clinch the whole together and explain it to the ear.

The reading πεπραμένοι is admissible, though it is not quite so well adapted as πεπραγμένοι to the latter clauses, especially the consecutive φεύγειν. And since the use of πράσσειν accords with analogy, its rarity is a strong defence. For more instances of exceptional passives in archaic language see on *Theb.* 621.

It should be added that ἀντίδουλος is probably not here a synonym for δοῦλος. It is to be compared with ἀντίμισθος, and signifies that the slavery of Electra is part of the price paid in the ἀντ-αλλαγή. So in *Ag.* 415 ἄγουσα ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίῳ φθοράν (of Helen wedded to Paris), ἀντίφερνος is not exactly 'instead of a dower', but rather 'paid as a dower', the φερναί in a marriage-transaction being a return (ἀντι-) for the ἔδνα. The seduction (φθορά) of Helen was repaid by the destruction (φθορά) of Troy.

Lastly, for *μέτα*, see exx. in *Index II.* to the *Agamemnon*, s.v. *Preposition*. It is used in the primitive manner, as an independent adverb, meaning 'by way of change', *i.e. instead*. Here, as in *Ag.* 1270, it is commonly changed to *μέγα*, on the plea of resemblance between τ and γ. This might have been a good argument for restoring *μέτα*, and is now equally good for keeping it. The obvious, but pointless, *μέγα* would be in the MS., if it had not been indisputable, at every stage of the tradition, that the letter was τ. The adverb signifies that Aegisthus the exile has *changed places* with Orestes the heir (see *Ag.* 1668, and the whole finale of that play), and thus repeats the general conception of this passage.

On the facts in the story, to which Electra refers, see the Introduction. The 'bargain' is that which was made, in the interest of Aegisthus, with Strophius.

§ 7.

v. 248. *τοὺς δ' ἀπωρφανισμένους*
νήστις πιέζει λιμός· οὐ γὰρ ἐντελὴς
θήρα πατρῷα προσφέρειν σκηνήμασιν.

θῆρα πατρῶα M, *πατρώα* m.—*οὐκ ἔστι γέννα ἐντελής, ὥστε τὴν πατρῴαν θήραν προσάγειν τῇ καλιᾷ. Schol.*

For they have not yet the strength to bring their hereditary prey to the nest; lit. 'for the chase (hunting-power) is not full-grown in (them), to bring' etc. The abstraction *θήρα* is used here precisely as the personified abstraction *Ἄρης* (*spirit of war, fighting temper*) is used in *Ag.* 76 *ὁ νεαρὸς μυελὸς ἰσόπρεσβυς· Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἔνι χώρᾳ*. The substantival neuter *πατρῷα* takes its sense, as usual, from the context.

As to the meaning there is no doubt; the only question is as to the reading and grammar. The prevalent reading is *οὐ γὰρ ἐντελεῖς* (de Pauw) *θήραν πατρῴαν* κτλ. But if this was the original, how should it have been corrupted, and in particular, whence comes *ἐντελὴς* for the obvious *ἐντελεῖς*? To explain *ἐντελὴς* by the remote *γέννα* (*v.* 246) is an artificial afterthought, not a natural error. It is suggested that *ἐντελὴς* has been adopted to suit *θῆρα πατρῷα* (or *πατρῴα*); but this is impossible, for the scholium, if it proves anything, proves at least that *ἐντελὴς* was in the text *before* *θήραν πατρῴαν* had (*ex hypothesi*) been corrupted. And besides, what first put such a figment as *θῆρα πατρῷα* into any man's head?

But the paraphrase no more proves that its author had before him *θήραν πατρῴαν*, than that he had *προσάγειν* or *καλιᾷ*. He had what

we have, the letters θηραπατρωα. Missing the true explanation, he resorted, after the fashion of ancient commentators in a difficulty, to a tacit hypothesis, that *θῆρον* (*prey*) was an archaic equivalent for *θήρα* (cf. *ναῦλος-ναῦλον*, *ποινή-ἄποινα* etc.); and he accented the text accordingly. The initial trochee, if he thought of it, he could have justified by *Cho.* 653, 1048.

§ 8.

v. 277 *foll.*

The doctrine of this passage, rightly understood, will dispose of the disputes and objections which have been raised on *v.* 277. Without that doctrine no meaning can be found in *μειλίγματα*, and little in *δυσφρόνων*. Hence a multitude of conjectures, which at present it does not seem necessary to discuss.

Here there is not a letter to mend, and in *v.* 278 scarcely a letter: *νῶν* in the MS. represents the infinitive, *whatever that should be*, of the verb *to spin*. What forms this rare verb admitted is a question hardly to be decided upon the existing materials, and was doubtful from early times. If it is true (see Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 135) that the only forms possible in 'Attic' were those derivable normally from *νάω*, then we should perhaps write here *νῆν*. But Aeschylus is not an 'Attic' writer in the sense of the purist: and the very fact that the ancient scholars were in doubt (between *νέω* and *νάω*) goes to show that the verb allowed variations, and makes conjecture hazardous. Since *ῥιγῶν* and *ῥιγεῖν* were both correct forms in different authors and ages, we must not say *a priori*, that *νῶν* did not exist as well as *νεῖν* and *νῆν*, or that it might not, in a highly peculiar passage, composed of consecrated language, be used by Aeschylus. Our knowledge of such sporadic and exceptional verb-forms seems to be too incomplete for sure inference, as the recent discovery of Herondas has testified. Few would have suspected the existence of *κατασβῶσαι* (*to quench*). Yet the MS. of Herondas (5. 39) gives it, nor are we, as I think, entitled to reject it.

M has *τὰσ δὲ νωνόσσουσ* corrected to *τὰσ δὲ νῶν νόσουσ*. We may of course take the simple verb *νῆν*, but the preposition *ἐν* is desirable, and equally justified, we may say, by the MS.; cf. *v.* 282.

§ 9.

vv. 283 and 286.

προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων
283. ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων αἱμάτων τελουμένας...
τὸ γὰρ σκοτεινὸν τῶν ἐνερτέρων βέλος
286. ἐκ προστροπαίων ἐν γένει πεπτωκότων.

There would certainly be some foundation for the doubts entertained about these verses, if they meant no more than that the apparitions come as a punishment for the sin of murder. Since this is manifestly implied, without mention, by the general sense of the passage, it is not like the habit of Aeschylus to express it, and express it twice over.

The most attractive among many suggestions is that of Keck, approved by Wecklein, to make one verse out of the two, putting ἐκ προστροπαίων for ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων (a gloss) in *v.* 283, and omitting *v.* 286. Even this supposition however does not clear up everything, nor is it easy to realize the artificial process which must then have produced the MS. text.

If we are to assume that there is error, I should conclude that both verses are by Aeschylus and in that sense genuine, but that they are *alternative versions* of *v.* 283. Our text might then result naturally from the desire of an ancient editor to find room for both.

It must however be carefully remembered, in this and other like cases, that the case for doubt assumes us to have exhausted the significance of the traditional text; and that this assumption is far from certain, when the subject is so obscure to us as it is here. It is probable that, if we were in a position to understand fully and readily the meaning of προσβολὰς ἐξ αἱμάτων τελουμένας, we should raise no objections at all.

§ 10.

vv. 322—330.

The common interpretation of this passage differs from mine fundamentally in the rendering of φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς· ὀτοτύζεται δ' ὁ θνήσκων, ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων. This is translated, '*he* (the dead man) shows after a time his *anger*: the *dead* is bewailed (by a dirge), and so the *injurer* (*i.e.* murderer) is brought to light'.

To this, in addition to criticisms of detail which may be gathered

from the notes, I should object generally, that any reference in this place to *vengeance* would be not only irrelevant but destructive. The doubt raised by Orestes is a general doubt, whether the living can in any case communicate with those in the other world. Any assurance offered on this point would be fatally weakened, if it referred specially to the souls of those who have been wronged by violence. For it would be hard to believe, and certainly the ancient Greeks did not believe, that communication, impossible in other cases, was possible with such a soul only.

Further, there would thus be another irrelevance, an irrelevant irrelevance (if I may so say), in *ἀναφαίνεται ὁ βλάπτων*, for the 'detection of the murderer' has no bearing even upon the special case of Agamemnon. This objection is noted by Mr Sidgwick.

The belief that the passage refers to 'vengeance' has been supported, if not produced, by the *scholia* to *vv.* 328—330 *πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων | γόος ἔνδικος ματεύει | τὸ πᾶν ἀμφιλαφὴς ταραχθείς*. There are two: (1) *ζητεῖ τὸ ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι*, and (2) *ὅμως οὐκ ἠρεμεῖ ἡ ψυχή· ζητεῖ γὰρ παντελῶς ταρασσομένη τὴν ἐκδίκησιν*. Both are in any case wrong, since they take *πατέρων γόος* to mean a lament or appeal *from* the dead, not *to* or *over* them. But since both interpret something in the text by 'seeks vengeance', and since no such expression is in the MS., it has been assumed that the missing word *vengeance* is concealed by corruption in *τὸ πᾶν* (*βοπὰν* Hermann and others, *ποινάν* Schütz etc.). This assumption is unnecessary, and is disproved by the *scholia* themselves. The writer of the second embraces *τὸ πᾶν* by his *παντελῶς*: therefore he at least did not point, by his *ἐκδίκησιν*, to some other word, which *τὸ πᾶν* has expelled. This being so, we have no reason to attribute that intention to *τὸ ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι* in the first. The truth is that both writers, not seeing any other object for *ματεύει*, calmly took *ἔνδικος* for a neuter substantive in the accusative case (see above, § 7). The author of (2) probably wished to read *ἔκδικος*, between which and *ἔνδικος* our MSS. (*e.g. Theb.* 594) not seldom vary. The only fatal objection to such a substantive as *τὸ ἔνδικος* or *τὸ ἔκδικος* *vengeance*, the law of composition, belongs to an order of facts entirely beyond the range of such critics as composed a great part of the *scholia*. For them such a form was in no way more strange than the phenomena of Aeschylean language generally.

I had myself conjectured *τάφον* for *τὸ πᾶν*, to which Mr Sidgwick justly objects that it ignores the *scholium*. Moreover I now see that *τὸ πᾶν* is right and necessary.

§ II.

v. 366. πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες
νιν οὕτως δαμῆναι,
θανατηφόρον αἶσαν
πρόσσω τινὰ πυνθάνεσθαι κτλ.

The text has been suspected, not for any internal difficulty, but (1) for want of metrical correspondence with the strophe, and (2) from the supposed evidence of the *scholia*. As to (1), the strophe has certainly been tampered with (see notes there), and therefore affords no ground of inference: see also App. II. As to (2), the *scholia* run thus:

[365.] λείπει τὸ ὤφειλες.—ἀπέστρεψε τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. The last clause indicates the apostrophe πάτερ, and belongs to this note, not to the next. The writer says αὐτοῦ (not αὐτῆς Franz), because he attributed the speech, which has no mark of person in the MS., to Orestes.

[367.] λείπει τὸ ὄφελον.—τοῖς ἐκείνων.

These last words have been taken to indicate a lost dative (οὕτως δαμῆναι | φίλοις Conington), and certainly do, if we assume that the writer was a competent grammarian. But his 'ellipse of ὄφελον' is not encouraging; and I think it clear that, misled by the division of the verses, he supposed οἱ κτανόντες to be used absolutely, without an expressed object, and took νιν for an ethic dative, like σφιν, meaning *for them*, "*i.e.* for the friends of the murderers". Neither the accidence nor the interpretation are at all worse than we find elsewhere (see the Introduction).

The only critic who appears to have found any difficulty in the text is Bamberger (cited by Wecklein), "cur quaeso *e longinquo* Electra audiat Aegisthi et Clytaemnestrae mortem? Cur eos procul quam Argis occisos mallet?" But Electra's words have no relation to Argos, or to any real circumstances whatever. They are a mere wild imagination, "If it comes to wishing, let us wish at once not that Agamemnon had died in Troy, but that his enemies had died, and died far away, so that we might have had nothing to do with the whole matter". Such is in prose the idea which Aeschylus translates into poetry.

§ 12.

vv. 374—378.

The suspicion directed against these verses, which show at first sight a want of coherence and clearness, arises from the extreme difficulty which we have in grasping and keeping before our minds the conceptions out of which they proceed. A modern civilized man, who desired, in a crisis of his life, to strengthen himself by supernatural aid, would seek it with feelings negatively and positively differing as widely as possible from those of the slaves in Aeschylus. To the rite by which he approached the divine power, though he might think it important, he would probably not ascribe any mystical necessity; and he would certainly suppose that the essential force of his appeal lay in the righteousness of his cause and conduct, and that the divine interference, if exerted, would take, as a matter of course, the side of the right.

Totally different is the religion of this passage. The rite in question can scarcely be called a prayer, nor the power invoked by it be described as divine. The rite is a mechanical means not merely of summoning but of creating the assistance desired; and the action of the supernatural influence, otherwise uncertain, is determined necessarily and naturally by the proper performance of the incantation, which brings it into effect. It was held (as set forth in *vv.* 322 foll.) that the spirits of dead men could be brought, by a particular ceremony (the γόος), into communication with the living and action upon their affairs; and that this effect, depending on the affinity between the living spirits and the dead, was more easily produced in proportion to the nearness of the affinity. Probably, if we could get to the bottom of the idea, we should find that the preliminary offerings poured into the grave (χοαί) were not merely a propitiation, but a means of assisting the temporary 'materialization' of the spirit, without which its action among men was hardly conceivable (see on *vv.* 282 foll.). In this crisis of the contest among the members of the family, it is important to both sides to enlist, if possible, the spirit of Agamemnon, as the supernatural force most nearly concerned and most likely to act. Clytaemnestra, warned by her dream that the moment is dangerous, has attempted to work the ritual for herself and Aegisthus, using the instrumentality (χέρες) of Electra, not only because the child is nearer to the dead than the wife, but because the hands of the murderers were ill adapted for such a purpose. The very conception of such a plan proves how mechanical, how independent of moral claim, the ceremony was supposed to be.

But the attempt of Clytaemnestra has been defeated by the boldness of Electra and the slaves; and the situation, as described in these lines, is now this: (1) Orestes and Electra are, so to speak, 'first in the field'; they have performed the χοαί and consequent γόος (a doubly triple incantation) on their own behalf, and have *already* got the spirit of Agamemnon for themselves; (2) the murderers have not got the rite performed for them, nor can they well perform it themselves; and (3) if they should or could perform it themselves, or get it performed by any one else, the effects of it must be inferior to that of the rite already celebrated, inasmuch as none stood so near to the spirit as his children.

§ 13.

Distribution of the parts in vv. 477—507.

A very curious critical question is presented here. This dialogue, as observed by Conington and others, is "a sort of extension of the κομμός"; and indeed the fact is expressly noticed by the chorus-leader (τόνδ' ἐτεινάτην λόγον, *v.* 508), when she interferes to put an end to it. The distribution of the parts has to be determined by internal evidence, that of the MS. being, as usual, imperfect, and after *v.* 495 failing entirely. Up to a certain point however there is now no difference of opinion. It is clear that of the three sections into which the passage falls, the first two have each a symmetric arrangement, thus:

Section I. (477—486). *Or.* 2, *El.* 2, *Or.* 3, *El.* 3.

Section II. (487—494). *Or.* 1, *El.* 1, and so on alternately.

But as to the third section (495—507) there is a difference of opinion. The first three lines belong naturally to Orestes; the remaining 10 are given by Conington (and others) as one speech to Electra, but are divided by Bothe, Hermann (and others) between the brother and sister. In defence of his view Conington remarks (1) that the description λοίσθιος βοή should mark the beginning of the last speech, and (2) that "no equal division can be made". But as to the first argument, since the whole scene is an 'extension' (we may even say an illegitimate extension) of the preceding κομμός, and provokes, as such, a certain impatience in the hearers, the prolongation of it for a short distance beyond the "lastly and finally" is consistent enough, and may well be intentional. The question turns then on the second argument.

Now it is true that neither the whole 13 lines of the third section,

nor the last 10 lines of it, can, as they stand, be distributed symmetrically. If, without regard to symmetry, we break the whole 13 into short speeches at the obvious points, we obtain the distribution of Wecklein:

3, 3, 2, 3, 2.

In this arrangement we see that the series of pairs is broken by the penultimate part (*vv.* 503—505). But further, if it were not for this part, the section would not only be symmetrical in itself, but also (a point which does not seem to have been observed) *would correspond with Section I*, giving for the whole 'extension' this perfectly symmetrical arrangement:

Strophe.	*Centre.*	*Antistrophe.*
Or. 2, *El.* 2, *Or.* 3, *El.* 3.	*Or. El.* (single lines alternately).	*Or.* 3, *El.* 3, *Or.* 2, *El.* 2.

When we consider that, so arranged, the 'extension of the *commos*' exhibits the same *double* and *triple* partition which is so marked a feature of the *commos* itself, we must conclude, I think, that on internal grounds there is some reason for doubting whether our text is correct. A piece of external evidence comes to the support of this suspicion. The verses on which the suspicion falls are 503—505,

παῖδες γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κληδόνες σωτήριοι
θανόντι· φελλοὶ δ' ὡς ἄγουσι δίκτυον,
τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστῆρα σῴζοντες λίνου.

In Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 182 ed. Sylburg is found (see Hermann) the following: παῖδες δ' ἀνδρὶ κατ' αἶαν ὄντι κληδόνες γεγάασι, φελλοὶ δ' ὡς ἄγουσι δίκτυον τὴν ἐκ βυθοῦ [καὶ] κλωστῆρα σῴζοντες λίνῳ, κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν Σοφοκλέα. It has been supposed that this is a loose and corrupt citation of our passage, and that the reference to Sophocles is an error. But *the citation is in choric metre:*

παῖδες δ' ἀνδρὶ κατ' αἶαν ὄντι
κληδόνες γεγάασι, φελλοὶ δ'
ὡς ἄγουσι δίκτυον
τὴν ἐκ βυθοῦ
κλωστῆρα σῴζοντες λίνῳ.

There is no error, except καὶ in the last clause, developed out of κλ in κλωστῆρα: and λίνῳ, a better reading than λίνου (see the note), is a sign that the text is independent. Further, though the wording resembles that of our passage so closely as to prove connexion, the sense is materially different. "Sophocles" says that a man's children increase

his renown while he lives on earth, *and* prolong it after his death; in "Aeschylus" the two parts are rolled into one. The passages therefore are distinct, and the reference to Sophocles is presumably correct.

We should conclude then either that Sophocles intentionally or inadvertently translated into choric metre the iambics of Aeschylus slightly modified, or that a choric passage of Sophocles, with the necessary modification, has been incorporated into the text of Aeschylus. Either is possible; but the second, perhaps more probable in itself, becomes much more so, when we see that the text of Aeschylus shows signs of interpolation precisely at this point.

On these grounds I have bracketed the three verses in our text, believing them to have sprung out of an illustrative quotation appended to *v.* 502, *οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανών.* We may note that this accounts for the not very satisfactory phrase *κληδόνες σωτήριοι..... σῴζοντες*: the borrowed *σωτήριοι* is a patch to fill up the iambic verse. I have also of course assigned to Electra *vv.* 506—507.

§ 14.

v. 530. *καὶ πῶς ἄτρωτον οὐχαρην ὑπὸ στυγός;*

οὐθαρ ἦν de Pauw.

This correction is obviously right; but the verse and context deserve particular notice as illustrating a process which has played a considerable part in producing the errors of our MS. How did *οὐχαρην* come into existence? The confusion of *θ* with *χ*, though of course possible, is not common in this MS., nor is there anything here likely to suggest it. Now to the next verse but one (*v.* 532 *οὗτοι μάταιον ἀνδρὸς ὄψανον πέλει*) there is prefixed in the MS. a *χ*: and there is a *scholium* to it—*ὄψανον· ὄψις, φαντασία. τὸ χ δέ, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως παρῆξε τὸ ὄψανον.* The annotator, after explaining *ὄψανον* as synonymous with *ὄψις*, adds that the *χ* (which he takes to be the critical mark so formed, the primitive 'asterisk') is appended to direct attention to the peculiarity of the form *ὄψανον*. This however is far from probable, nor does it appear that *χ*, as a note or mark to *v.* 532, is pertinent or significant in any way.

I believe that we here see, arrested in the middle, the same process which we find complete in *v.* 181 and elsewhere. The marginal *χ*, having been placed in the margin not very exactly with regard to the lines, has slipped to the wrong line, and really belongs to *v.* 530. It is not an asterisk at all, but the letter proper, and was so understood by

some one, who accordingly went to work, in the fashion which we have seen before, to find a place in *v.* 530, at which a χ could be substituted for the existing letter. He pitched upon *ουθαρην* as a suitable place, simply because, though *ουχαρην* conveyed no meaning to him, neither did *ουθαρην*, and because in any other place χ seemed impossible. By writing *ουχαρην* therefore he obeyed, as he supposed, the marginal direction, which came from an ancient hand and carried weight.

But what then was really meant by the critic who conjectured a χ? It is not hard to see. He referred not to *ουθαρην*, but to *ατρωτον*, where he probably marked the first τ with a dot which escaped notice. He thought, and most likely had reason or tradition for thinking, that Aeschylus wrote not *ἄτρωτον*, but a more recondite word of similar signification, *ἄχρωτον* (a synonym of *ἄχρωστον* and in form comparable with *ἄσωτον*) *untouched, inviolate, unharmed.* It may be strongly suspected that this reading is true, and that *ἄτρωτον* is a superficial conjecture.

§ 15.

vv. 552—556.

ΟΡ. *ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος· τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω,*
αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμὰς,
ὡς ἄν, δόλῳ κτείναντες ἄνδρα τίμιον
δόλῳ τε, καὶ ληφθῶσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ βρόχῳ
θανόντες.

This passage would alone suffice to show that the plot attributed to the *Agamemnon* by the Greek *hypothesis* is wrong, and that the account given of it in my Introduction is in outline and substance right. It is plain that the details of the scheme, by which Agamemnon was entrapped and slain, are forcibly recalled to the mind of Orestes by the *distribution of parts*, which he here makes between himself and his coadjutors. This is the point of his remark, and the sole reason why a reference to the former plot should occur at this place. But the *Agamemnon*, as previously interpreted, offers no analogy whatever. The plot against the king, if it can be called a plot, which Clytaemnestra (according to the traditional explanation) lays and executes, has only one part, her own. No one else has a share in it or gives any assistance. Upon the other hypothesis the analogy, as shown in the note, is both clear and exact.

But this is not all. Without the true explanation of the *Agamemnon* this passage cannot even be translated. It is that explanation which accounts for the pointed phrase δόλῳ κτείναντες δόλῳ τε: and unless these words be taken together, there is no construction possible, nor any probable correction, as will appear from the expedients proposed. It has been suggested (1) keeping the text, to join together δόλῳ τε καὶ...ἐν ταὐτῷ βρόχῳ: (2) reading ληφθέντες... θάνωσι (for ληφθῶσι... θανόντες), to construe 'that they may die both by guile and taken in the same snare': (3) reading δόλῳ γε or δόλοισι, to translate 'that they may be taken also by guile and die in the same snare'. Of the three devices the third is the most tolerable, but even this will not do; with δόλῳ γε, the particle is pointless and out of place, and the plural δόλοισι spoils the assonance (δόλῳ...δόλῳ) on which the point is supposed to turn. Moreover, if the second δόλῳ be thrown into the apodosis, the words ἐν ταὐτῷ βρόχῳ merely cumber the meaning, which is complete without them. There is one obvious and only one possible way of construing the words as they stand: and if this has not been taken, that is because the result is a sentence not intelligible without a true notion of the *Agamemnon*.

If it be asked from whom and when Orestes learned the history of Aegisthus' plot, it is but natural to suppose that the main outline of it would have become known to every one, and certainly to one so nearly interested as Orestes. The story, as assumed by Aeschylus, may have stated the occasion and means of communication; but whether it did or not, the question is not one which either dramatist or spectator would be likely to raise.

§ 16.

vv. 573—574.

πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος; νεκρὸν
θήσω ποδώκει περιβαλὼν χαλκεύματι.

"τῷ ταχεῖ ξίφει· ὡς ἐπὶ ἐμψύχου δὲ εἶπεν. Schol. Stanley compares *Theb.* [610] ποδῶκες ὄμμα. περιβαλών seems best explained with Dobree as a metaphor from a net suddenly thrown round an animal. Comp. Eur. *Med.* 1278 ἀρκύων ξίφους, *Herc. F.* 729 ἐν βρόχοισιν ἀρκύων ξιφηφόροισι." Conington. The interpretation is correct. As to the illustrations, it should be noted that they leave us still far from the expression of Aeschylus. In the *Heracles* the victim of treachery is

said very naturally and simply to 'fall into the sworded snare'. In the *Medea* the metaphor has little point; and there is, in my opinion (see note there), some reason to doubt whether it is genuine. But in neither place is the actual *stroke of the sword* the point of comparison, as the context shows it to be here: and, when this is accounted for, it still remains to account for the extraordinary wording. The comparison of the sword to a net (or rather perhaps to *forged fetters*, δύσλυτα χαλκεύματα *P. V.* 19) proceeds, as Dr Wecklein suggests, on the fact that the stroke makes the dead incapable of motion; and it may be justified as an allusion to the fettering 'net' of Agamemnon, since the purport of this whole passage is to draw a parallel between the murder and the revenge. But all this, though it explains περιβαλὼν χαλκεύματι, throws no light upon ποδώκει. In the most highly metaphorical style there must be some reason in the selection of metaphors; and it seems perverse to darken a metaphor in itself obscure by an epithet (*swift-footed*) inappropriate both to the simile and to the thing signified, to a fetter and to a sword. In *Theb.* 610, ποδῶκες ὅμμα, the context (see notes there) discloses a special point, which requires and justifies the wording. Here we must look for some similar justification.

Nor is it difficult to find. The reference to a *foot* (ποδ-ώκει), which is irrelevant to the sense, is introduced simply for the sound, and in order to make, in ποδώκει περιβαλὼν χαλκεύματι, a sort of assonance and retort to the supposed words of Aegisthus, ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος; It suggests to the ear that his question is arrested by the sword-stroke at the first syllable, and is in fact a rude jest, precisely like those which are repeatedly used in the *Septem* for the expression of hatred and scorn. (The best parallel is perhaps the play of Eteocles upon ἐσθήματα at *Theb.* 263—265.) To put the matter in the simplest and truest way, ποδώκει here does not really mean 'swift *of foot*', which makes no sense, but, by a forced interpretation, 'swift as the sound of the syllable ποδ-'. The modern reader will doubtless think this detestable: so would Euripides, and so would Sophocles. Other men, as great as these or greater, have thought otherwise. That it is Aeschylean, no one, who fully understands Aeschylus, will dispute: nor is it less characteristic of him to link this piece of grotesque extravagance with the mighty and magnificent couplet which follows it.

§ 17.

vv. 621—628.

I need not apologize for offering an entirely new interpretation of this passage, which by general admission requires it. The points on which I would lay stress are (1) the construction and explanation of *ἀκαίρως δέ*, (2) the separation and punctuation of the parenthesis, (3) the reading and explanation of *v.* 626, (4) the application of *vv.* 624—628 to Aegisthus. This last is fundamental and, as it seems to me, certain in the main, whatever may be said of details. The *γυναικόβουλοι μήτιδες*, the *γυναικεία ἄτολμος αἰχμή*, are proper to Aegisthus, and almost repeat the language used of him in the *Agamemnon*. To attribute the *ἄτολμος αἰχμή* to Clytaemnestra is impossible, and generally so considered; nor could she be described with any point as *γυναικόβουλος*. On the contrary she was emphatically *ἀνδρόβουλος* (*Ag.* 11), the two conspirators having in fact changed sexes. But neither can we take *γυναικεία ἄτολμος αἰχμή* as a laudatory description of the character opposed to that of Clytaemnestra and proper to a woman. This is the prevalent view, so far as any prevails; and on this hypothesis many read *vv.* 627—628 as a separate clause, with the conjectures of Stanley and Hermann, thus:

τίω δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν δόμων
γυναικείαν τ' ἄτολμον αἰχμάν.

This is taken to mean, *I esteem* (*prefer*) *the fireless* (*i.e. passionless*) *home and the woman of unventuresome temper*. But (to say nothing of the feeble sense) *ἄτολμος* is naturally a term of depreciation, and *ἀθέρμαντος ἑστία* even more distinctly such.

Dr Wecklein avoids these objections and, assuming his text, obtains a sense that we might pass: but as it involves not only the bold alteration of *vv.* 621—628 in several places, but the transference of the whole strophe so as to follow the antistrophe, it is not within what I should regard as the limits of a critical solution. That the strophe and antistrophe are rightly placed in the MS. is proved (as I think) by *τί τῶνδ' οὐκ ἐνδίκως ἀγείρω*; in *v.* 636, a question not fully intelligible except in relation to *vv.* 621—622 as explained in the notes.

As to the reading, I accept the traditional text without any change whatever (for the mis-spelling of *ἐπεικότως* is not worth notice). I see no difficulty in the construction, and no obscurity, except in *ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν δόμων*. But on any conceivable view *the fireless hearth* is a phrase which a modern writer would not have used in this context.

It is reasonable and necessary to suppose that it was justified and explained by some literary association or convention. With such an aid the meaning suggested might be manifest.

The reading ἐπεικότως is obvious and was of course suggested long ago: ἴβας apparently has not been tried, and indeed, obvious as it is, could not present itself as possible, until the parenthesis was stopped off and properly divided, and the construction of δῆοις explained.

Beyond the mere interpretation there are two aspects of this passage deserving a little more notice. It is peculiar and artificial, but not by accident. The poet is constrained, because he here touches certain difficulties really inherent in his subject.

In the first place there is no doubt something forced in the device by which the case of Aegisthus is imported into an ode about the crimes of women. But in fact the proper way of treating Aegisthus in this trilogy was an insoluble problem, and the *Choephori* everywhere illustrates the difficulty. In relation to the whole work, and particularly in relation to the *Eumenides*, it was essential to fix the chief attention on the crime of Clytaemnestra. On the other hand, for the justification of Orestes, whose acts cannot spare any available plea, it is requisite that Aegisthus should be kept prominently in view. We have seen that Orestes, in his last-preceding speech, not unnaturally passes the part of his mother almost in silence. In this ode the two motives perceptibly clash. For the sake of the trilogy it is constructed, as a whole, so as to point at Clytaemnestra: and Aegisthus, who in the present situation cannot be ignored, is brought within range as best may be.

Again, the parallel which the chorus, following Orestes himself, draw between the crime and the punishment of Aegisthus, undoubtedly invites the criticism *qui s'excuse, s'accuse*. But this again, as has been remarked in the notes, is a difficulty inherent in the story. It is not without reason that both Aeschylus (*Cho.* 554) and Sophocles (*El.* 35) are careful to throw upon a divine command the responsibility for the deceitful and treacherous means by which Agamemnon is revenged. The story of Orestes, as Aeschylus found it, was a story of savage times, and was but too plainly marked with its origin. When all is said, it remains the fact that Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra are assassinated by a fraud upon hospitality; and though the excuses are very strong, the Greeks of the fifth century had enough delicacy to feel that your hero, if he must needs be a matricide, should, if possible, be otherwise immaculate. That they did feel this, and would have preferred, had the story permitted, a more gallant revenge, is shown by the criticism which Euripides, who had not the least respect for the old

legends, and does not conceal his opinion that Orestes was a villain, puts into the mouth of his Electra (*El.* 524):

οὐκ ἄξι' ἀνδρὸς, ὦ γέρον, σοφοῦ λέγεις,
εἰ κρυπτὸν ἐς γῆν τήνδ' ἂν Αἰγίσθου φόβῳ
δοκεῖς ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμὸν εὐθαρσῆ μολεῖν.

Aeschylus propitiates this feeling by pleading the provocation. Sophocles, with characteristic discretion, is content to modify the legend a little in the right direction, and to plead simply the will of the god.

§ 18.

vv. 692—695.

καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης σ'—ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων,
ἔξω κομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα—
νῦν δ', ὑπερ ἐν δόμοισι βακχείας καλῆς
ἰατρὸς ἐλπὶς ἦν, παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει.

The restoration of σε in *v.* 692 will, I hope, remove the necessity for discussing in detail the previous treatment of this passage. Without this pronoun it is impossible either to connect these four verses with the preceding context or to construe the two last of them. For a summary of the interpretations, and remarks upon them, see Mr Sidgwick's note. All of them either assume unwarrantable changes of the text, or else fail for want of an object to which we can apply παροῦσαν. In the text above given the construction of the whole speech tells us, as soon as we get the words καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης σε—, that the period will conclude with some phrase referring to σε (τὴν ἀράν), and signifying that Orestes in his distant refuge has found himself pursued by the curse of his family. Accordingly, when we come to the conclusion, we refer παροῦσαν to σε (*Fate*) as a matter of course.

Not a little of the difficulty (especially in regard to the reading and rendering of ὑπερ...ἦν) has arisen from want of understanding the metaphor in ὀλέθριος πηλός. The truth is that this phrase never would have occurred to any one but a dweller among steep mountains, which few of us are. Nothing could be less apt than to compare an inevitable pursuing Fate to any πηλός, which we are accustomed to think of. The πηλός which Aeschylus pictures, is a spreading, sliding mass of earth and water, stones and gravel, tons in weight and yards in breadth, which covers half a hill-side, and swallows up trees and cottages. It is in this image that the phrases of the passage find their centre and

explanation. The attempts to refer δόμοισι to the house or family of Agamemnon, and βακχείας to the revel of Fate, or to the rejoicing of Clytaemnestra, all end, as it appears to me, in hopeless confusion.

The period is so constructed that δόμοισι, βακχείας, and ἐλπίς cannot be intelligibly referred to any subject except Ὀρέστης: but without a proper conception of the metaphor as a whole it is impossible to explain them. The words βακχείας καλῆς ἰατρὸς ἐλπὶς ἦν are slightly disarranged for metrical convenience. The logical order would be βακχείας καλῆς ἐλπὶς ἰατρὸς ἦν. But since βακχείας καλῆς ἰατρός is a phrase which could scarcely have a meaning in any context, there is no temptation to put the words together, and therefore no practical obscurity.

Here, as in other places, much trouble has been caused by attributing undeserved weight to a detached fragment of the *scholia*. The notes on this passage in M run as follows [692.] καὶ νῦν Ὀρέ(στης): ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον. τὸ γὰρ νῦν δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ παρεληλυθός. [693.] τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ νοήματος· καὶ πρότερον ἔξω κομίζων ὀλέθρου (*sic*) πηλοῦ πόδα· ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων Ὀρέστης· ποῖος Ὀρέστης; ἡ τοῖς οἴκοις ἰατικὴ ἐλπὶς τῆς ἀγαθῆς εὐφροσύνης· νῦν δὲ ἀπώλετο.—ἔξω πηλοῦ πόδ(α): παροιμία. [694.] ἡ εὐφροσύνη τῶν βασιλείων οἴχεται. [695.] ἡ ἰατρός.—τάξον αὐτὴν ἀφανισθεῖσαν ἀρᾷ· ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἐλπίς δ' ἀπέδωκεν. Now if it is to be presumed that the collector of these notes was a competent scholar, then we must no doubt infer that he had in *v.* 695 a widely different text from ours. What he meant by ἀρᾷ, it is hard to see; perhaps he wrote ἄρα. However he found something which seemed to him to justify the paraphrase 'Count it (hope) as gone'; and this, it is very naturally thought, was not παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει. But how can we presume or believe that the annotator was a competent scholar, or a man of discretion? What does he mean by his remark on *v.* 692, "νῦν stands here for πρότερον: it sometimes refers to the past"? It is manifest, and every modern critic assumes as of course, that νῦν has its proper meaning, *now*, and refers, as usual, to the present. Why then did the ancient commentator invent an impossible sense for it? The note on *v.* 695, which must be from the same hand, shows why. He thought it necessary to wring out of the passage (with δ' ἥπερ for δήπερ, but otherwise as it stands in M) the meaning 'Orestes is lost'. And this he thought might be done, if νῦν in *v.* 694 (and therefore also in *v.* 692) were taken, as he says, to mean *hitherto, formerly*, referring to the past, an assumption which he perhaps justified by some vague reminiscence of passages, in which νῦν or νῦν δή has the meaning of the English *just now*. His conception of the general sense was this: "As for Orestes,

who appeared safe, you must regard him as having been with us *hitherto* only (*νῦν παρόντα*)", *i.e.* "you must regard him as gone". The gender of *παροῦσαν* he explains, reasonably enough, by the fact that for 'Orestes' has been substituted *ἥπερ ἐλπὶς ἦν*, 'the *hope* of the house': this is what he means by *ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἐλπὶς δ' ἀπέδωκεν*. He regards the second *νῦν* (*πρότερον*) as a repetition for emphasis, and the *δέ* (if he noticed it) as merely resumptive: this is approximately right. The nominative case of *Ὀρέστης* he would have explained as a slight anacoluthon, and there is no objection to this. By *τάξον* (*count, register*) he interprets *ἐγγράφει*, which he took, seeing no other way of taking it, for the imperative of *ἐγγραφέω*, a denominative verb from *ἔγγραφος*. Such a form is far better and more correct than those which the ancient commentators frequently accept and use. In short, the only fatal objection to his view, as an explanation of the text of M, is that the sense which he puts on *νῦν* is fictitious and absurd: and the fact, that he thinks it necessary to assume that sense, proves that he had the text of M.

The author of the note on the 'order of the words' appended to *v.* 693, probably a later and certainly a more dull writer, while taking from the earlier note his notion of the sense and the doctrine about *νῦν*, has confounded confusion by treating the first *νῦν* (*ex hypothesi πρότερον*) as if, in spite of its position, it belonged to *κομίζων*, and the second *νῦν* as used in the proper sense (*now*). How in that case he proposed to construe the last clause so as to get the meaning given, it would, I think, be idle to enquire. A commentator, who could take *νῦν* to mean *πρότερον*, had resources which no one can be expected to divine. If he asked himself the question at all (which may be doubted), a tacit *ἀντὶ τοῦ παριοῦσαν καὶ παρελθοῦσαν* would have satisfied him, in a case of necessity, that Aeschylus wrote *παροῦσαν* for *gone*. The very next note (that to *v.* 699, *τί γὰρ ξένου ξένοισίν ἐστιν εὐμενέστερον;*) offers an almost incredible instance of capacity for mistake. There is no difficulty. It might be thought impossible to go seriously wrong. Yet this is the comment: *ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὰ ἀγγεῖλαι. τοῦτο γὰρ φιλίας αἴτιον τοῖς ξένοις γίνεται.* So the sense of the comparative *εὐμενέστερον more agreeable* is to be completed by supplying *than to bring good news*. And what then is to be done with *ξένου*? Either it is ignored, or (more probably) it is taken as a possessive; "What is more agreeable *to the friends of a friend* than to bring good news? For this produces goodwill towards the friends". In either case we have a measure of the critic's observation and intelligence. For other specimens see the Introduction.

There is one word however in the *scholia* here which may be worth attention, and that is the last in the sentence τάξον αὐτὴν ἀφανισθεῖσαν ἀρᾷ. Even if we correct this to ἄρα, it does not seem to fit; and we may fairly ask, what put the word ἀρά into the mind of the writer or copyist. May we not suspect that this was really a distinct and much more ancient note, "ἀράν", signifying that παροῦσαν in *v.* 695 agrees with ἀράν (*the curse of the house*, see *v.* 688)? This is practically right, and gives, with the extreme of brevity, after the fashion of the primitive annotator, just what is wanted to put a careful reader on the proper track. To the copyists of the existing notes it was necessarily unintelligible, and it has been worked, as it best might be, into their web. See also the Translation and a note there.

One thing more I will suggest. It is unnecessary to the explanation, and there is no possible proof of it; but it pleases me, and may therefore please some one else. The vivid style, at once concise and minute, in which Aeschylus has depicted the victim of the ὀλέθριος πηλός, savours strongly to my mind of an allusion. I believe that he had in view a recent and tragical incident, and that παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει is part of the story. Some herdsman of the hills, cut off, as frequently happens, by an outbreak of the waters, had taken refuge in his cabin, and had been found there, drowned by the torrent, which rose and filled his refuge. The feet of the man showed that he had escaped the first time with difficulty; the wine-bottle, from which he was about to drink, lay by his side; and scrawled upon the wall was the beginning of a message, one word more eloquent than many—ΠΑΡΕCΤΙ, *It is here!* The facts told the story, and Aeschylus has etched it in verse.

§ 19.

v. 709. ὀπισθόπους δὲ τούσδε καὶ ξυνεμπόρους.

Several commentators here substitute the singular, ὀπισθόπουν...τόνδε ...ξυνέμπορον, holding with de Pauw, that Orestes has still no other companion but Pylades.

I follow Conington, without hesitation, in keeping the plural, for reasons which I will explain as briefly as possible. The point, though minute, is of considerable interest and importance.

The burden of proof lies with those who would change the text. The reasons given are

(1) that in *vv.* 559 foll. Orestes mentions only himself and Pylades, ἥξω ξὺν ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐφ' ἑρκείους πύλας...ἄμφω δὲ φωνὴν οἴσομεν Παρνησσίδα.

I have answered this in the notes. Orestes does not there give, or pretend to give, a complete and detailed account of his plan, which indeed is not fully formed and settled in his own mind. For he says that if the gate-keepers make a difficulty about admitting him, he shall wait till the remarks of the passers-by shame them out of their inhospitable conduct. Clearly then he had not fixed on his pretended message from Strophius, a hint of which to the porter would have immediately procured him the interview which he sought. All he says is that he (with Pylades, whom he names for reasons there explained) will present himself at the palace as a traveller, having "the complete equipment" (*παντελῆ σαγήν*) required for the part, an expression which will cover not only as much baggage, but as many bearers and companions, as he might for any reason think it desirable to have. As to the number of the party nothing is said or implied.

(2) that Orestes carries his own pack, and therefore cannot have brought any followers. But it will scarcely be contended that *αὐτόφορτος* (*v.* 671) in itself necessarily means this; the context there indicates that it does not; and I will here give another reason why it should not, a reason of a different kind. If Orestes carried his own pack, how did he account for the presence of Pylades? Since the object of his plan was to introduce *two* persons (at least), it would have been singularly maladroit to choose for himself a part which did not require a companion.

If therefore the plural here is to be impeached, it must be by arguments, not from the text of Aeschylus, but from the probabilities of the situation. But these are decisive the other way.

In the first place the pretended character of Orestes in itself imports a considerable company. He represents himself as a traveller of such a sort, that Strophius, the friend of princes, after some casual conversation with him on the road, entrusts him with a message of grave importance, relying not only on his personal honour, but also on the certainty that in the course of a long journey he will not depart from a projected route. He expects to be received into a royal castle, on terms which will bring him into personal intercourse with the lord and lady. Which character is best adapted to these purposes, that of a substantial merchant, convoying a rich caravan, or that of a pedlar, who 'carries his own pack'?

And secondly, if the pretended character makes a large company desirable, the real purpose makes it absolutely necessary? If Orestes proposed to carry out his design (in the circumstances which are described by Aeschylus in this play) with the assistance of Pylades only, he

was mad before ever he was a matricide. To say nothing of servants, Aegisthus had soldiers in his pay, and a troop of them in his castle, a fact which Aeschylus does not and could not allow us to forget. The existence of these soldiers did not indeed render it impossible or improbable that the enterprise should succeed, *provided that the conspirators were in a position to show fight.* When Aegisthus could pay no longer, his mercenaries, if they had time to think twice, might be only too glad to get away. Aeschylus, who for stage-reasons could not have any fighting within the action, has so arranged matters that, at the critical moment, the soldiers are not on the spot. This is enough; and we hear no more of them. But this is represented as being a mere accident. Suppose then that things had happened otherwise. Suppose that, in reply to Orestes' message, Aegisthus had come to the gate, and had come, as he would of course have come, with his guards about him. If Orestes and Pylades were alone, what did they mean to do? If they had struck a blow, they must have been killed on the spot, probably before even the first part of their vengeance was executed. Or how indeed, even in the events which happened, did they, if unsupported, come off with life, not to say with victory?

I shall add a third consideration, which to critics may seem below the dignity of the subject, but which our dramatist, I believe, would have esteemed very differently. One of the few traits of Aeschylus, which ancient tradition preserves, is that he liked spectacular effect (*τὴν ὄψιν τῶν θεωμένων κατέπληξε τῇ λαμπρότητι.* Βίος Αἰσχύλου Dindorf *Poetae Scenici*). His plays are full of processions, the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides* as much as any. Now the *Choephori*, especially the first half of it, is unusually wanting in amusement for the eyes of the vulgar. I should not easily believe, if only on practical grounds, that Aeschylus would have missed the chance of consoling such persons for the simplicity of the dirge, and would have brought in two travellers, when he could just as well bring twenty or fifty. We may be sure there were as many of them as ever the train of Clytaemnestra left room for, and that the *σαγή* was *παντελής* to the highest degree.

For these reasons, even if the text gave no evidence, we should still suppose that Orestes and Pylades did not present themselves at the palace alone, but that they either brought with them from Crisa or collected elsewhere companions enough to make their enterprise practicable. As the text does give such evidence, we are certainly not entitled to reject it.

For further corroboration see the notes on *vv.* 865—867, 937, *inf.* § 23. The mere fact, that in speaking of the *ξένοι* the dual is never

used, is noticeable and significant, considering the frequency of reference and the habit of Greek.

In this discussion I have taken no notice of the gloss in Hesychius, ὀπισθόπους· ὑποστρέψας, which has sometimes been brought to bear on it, but with little reason or result. We cannot be sure that it refers to this passage: *prima facie* it does not. And in any case it is probably a blunder; it is not very likely, though not impossible, that ὀπισθόπους really was anywhere used in the sense of *turning back*. As a blunder however, it may be accounted for by this passage. There may have been a note here ὀπισθόπους· ὑποστρέψασα, indicating not a translation but a stage-direction, *viz.* that Clytaemnestra, as she speaks *v.* 709, *turns again* towards the audience (see note). There have been gloss-collectors quite capable of taking such a note for an interpretation of the word.

§ 20.

v. 749. τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν γὰρ ὡσπερεὶ βοτὸν
τρέφειν ἀνάγκη, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; τρόπῳ φρενός.

The commentaries disagree widely (and it is no wonder) as to the interpretation of τρόπῳ φρενός. Conington, Paley, and others accept the explanation of Scholefield, *according to the humour of its* (the infant's) *mind*. But this meaning is not in the words. The citations (*e.g.* Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1432) prove only that τρόποι could mean *humours*, and frequently did. They do not even tend to prove that τρέφειν τινὰ τρόπῳ φρενός could mean, 'to nurse one according to his humour (κατὰ τρόπους or ἐκ τρόπων)'. Nor is this the sense required. The required sense is, as appears from the next line, not that an infant must be treated according to its wants (which would be equally true, if not more true, of an adult), but that the infant cannot plainly express its wants and therefore the attendant must have a divining mind (πρόμαντις, *v.* 754). Any mere abruptness or incoherence of language might be attributed to the nurse with propriety. But passion does not make men say one definite thing, when they mean another equally definite and different.

Much more tolerable is the alternative explanation *By the method of the intelligence* (*i.e.* the intelligence of the nurse, who divines the infant's want), *durch die Weise des Verstandes* (Wecklein). This is at any rate grammatical; and there is, in the opposition of τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν and τρόπῳ φρενός, a rude epigram which will account, as Dr Wecklein says, for πῶς γὰρ οὔ; (*naturally, of course*). I think this will pass, and therefore leave the text, as not demonstrably incorrect.

Even so however the point is indistinct. To interpret cries and to understand articulate language are both equally τρόποι φρενός *methods of the mind*. After πῶς γὰρ οὔ; we expect something specially apt: and I have little doubt (see a paper in the *Journ. of Philology*, Vol. IX., and *Agamemnon*, Appendix E) that τρόπῳ is an error for τόπῳ *by guessing, conjecture*, a word of the same family as τοπάζω, ὑποτοπεῖν, ἄτοπος. This at once gives what is evidently meant, and gives it in a pointed shape. Since the infant has not thoughts properly so called, articulate thoughts, any more than an animal, the nurse must guess from its cries what its thoughts would be, if it had and could express them. The paper cited will show that in other ways the word is well adapted to the context. The improvement is, to my mind, so great and manifest, that I should put τόπῳ in the text, if it could be directly proved that the form τόπος *conjecture* existed, as well as τοπή. But τοπάζω proves only τοπά or τοπή, and ὑποτοπεῖν does not absolutely require τόπος. The evidence for τόπος will be found in the paper cited. It satisfies me; but as it is not scientifically conclusive, I prefer not to alter on the strength of it what can, I think, just be defended. It is of course not impossible to suppose that τόπῃ itself was used here; but in this form the word would be far less probable as a correction of τρόπῳ.

§ 21.

v. 769. ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτὸς ὀρθούσῃ φρενί.

If we are to assume that this verse, or something like it, was really written by Aeschylus in this place, I think (with Conington) that we should take the correction of Blomfield κυπτὸς, as well as ὀρθοῦται λόγος. M has κρυπτὸς, and the same reading is found in Eustathius on *Il.* 15. 207 (ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ συνετὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄγγελον. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθοῖ. διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης φησίν "ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτὸς ὀρθοῦται λόγος"), and has the best authority in the *schol.* there (καὶ Εὐριπίδης· "ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτὸς" κτλ.).

With κρυπτὸς the verse has in itself a very good sense, "It lies with the messenger to correct *obscurity* in the message", *i.e.* to explain it if necessary. This might be appropriate in another place, and appears to have actually occurred (for we need not suppose the references to be erroneous) *in Euripides*, who modified the expression to suit some particular purpose. If so, since Euripides was far better known in antiquity than Aeschylus, his version would easily intrude itself into our passage. The objection to κρυπτός here is, that there is no *obscurity* or

ambiguity either in the true message of Clytaemnestra, or in the substituted message, or again in the message of 'the merchant', if (with some) we refer the remark to that.

Dr Wecklein explains thus: 'For it lies with the messenger to make successful a disguised message', *i.e.* a message with a hidden and treacherous intention, by delivering it appropriately; and he refers the remark to *γαθούσῃ φρενί*. It is difficult to see how the feeling or pretence of gladness on the part of the nurse could lend credit to her fictitious message, if Aegisthus had conceived any suspicion of it. It would be more likely to confirm his suspicion.

But a further and fundamental doubt has occurred to me, which I will state for consideration. M has the verse in the strange shape *ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτὸς ὀρθούσῃ φρενί*. The theory, that it is in some shape a genuine verse of Aeschylus, depends on the presumption that *-σῃ φρενί* is merely a blundering repetition from the previous line, *ἄνωχθ' ὅσον τάχιστ' ἀγαθούσῃ φρενί* (*sic* M). But is this certain? What if the whole supposed verse were originally a marginal note on the preceding, thus, *ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτός. ὀρθούσῃ φρενί*? This signifies, in the style of *marginalia*, 'Compare *ἐν ἀγγέλῳ γὰρ κρυπτὸς* etc. (Euripides), and for *ἄνωχθ' ὅσον τάχιστ' ἀγαθούσῃ φρενί* read *ἄνωχθ', ὅσον τάχιστά γ', ὀρθούσῃ φρενί, Give him the message not in the true shape but, by your correcting intelligence, in this shape, that he is to come alone with all speed.* A critic might easily fail to pick *γαθούσῃ* (commonly *γηθούσῃ*) out of the corrupt text. The reading and interpretation suggested are much more defensible than those with which ancient critics were commonly satisfied.

The verse, however read, seems to break the sense so inconveniently, that I incline to a solution which would get rid of it.

§ 22.

vv. 802—807. *τὸ δὲ καλῶς κτίμενον ὦ*
μέγα ναίων στόμιον, εὖ
δὸς ἀνιδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρὸς,
καί νιν ἐλευθερίως
λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φιλίοις
ὄμμασι δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας.

O thou who dwellest in the fair-built cavern, i.e. Apollo, whose temple stood over the great cavern (*μέγας μυχὸς χθονός*) on Parnassus (*v.* 953). So Bamberger, reading *κτίμενον* by conjecture for *κτάμενον*. The read-

ing has been adopted by several editors, and requires therefore a special discussion.

That it involves difficulties has not escaped notice. First, in δὸς ἀνιδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός, since there is no other subject for ἀνιδεῖν, we have to suppose that δόμον is the subject, and to explain ἀνιδεῖν (intrans.) by ἀναβλέψαι (schol.), *recover sight, revive.* But this is rightly regarded with suspicion, since ἰδεῖν just differs from βλέψαι in that it naturally suggests an object, expressed or implied: moreover the juxtaposition of ἀνιδεῖν...ἰδεῖν is confusing, if ἰδεῖν has different meanings. And in the next clause there is further embarrassment, since if νιν (δόμον) is the subject, λαμπρὸν (an obvious correction made by everyone) must be taken adverbially, and then the rest of the sentence has no construction. Hence ἐλευθέριον φῶς, ἐλευθερίας λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φάος, ἐκ δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας, and other suggestions.

But, apart from these consequential difficulties, grave objection may be taken to the phrase itself, τὸ καλῶς κτίμενον στόμιον, as an adequate description of Delphi. Let us assume that a cavern with a temple over it might without impropriety be called 'a fair-built cavern', and that Apollo might be said to possess a καλῶς κτίμενον μυχὸν χθονός. This surely does not prove that, without any help from the context, ὁ τὸ καλῶς κτίμενον στόμιον ναίων could be identified as meaning Apollo. There were many other temple-caverns besides that of Delphi. Nor does στόμιον mean a *cavern*, but simply an *orifice, opening*, or *entrance* into something, such as a tomb (Soph. *Ant.* 1217) or a harbour (Eur. *Iph. T.* 1392). *The Great Entrance* might possibly be a sufficient description of such a cave as that of Taenarus, which was known especially as leading to the underworld; but it is neither characteristic nor intelligible of Delphi.

Lastly, it is well worthy of remark, that though the command of Apollo is the base of Orestes' enterprise, and though a large part of this play is occupied with prayers for help, it is never said that Apollo promised aid in the deed, nor is he ever asked to render it. To assign the reason for this would demand more exact knowledge of Greek feeling than any one now can possess. Possibly it was felt that the god, who was to purify, must contract no personal stain; possibly it was not proper that Apollo should associate so closely with the powers of the underworld. But we can scarcely suppose, under the circumstances, that the omission is accidental; and this alone would be reason enough for not introducing here an invocation of Apollo, when there is none in any part of the play.

The ground for the conjecture κτίμενον was simply that no explana-

tion, or even construction, had been found for κτάμενον. If this is done, we need look no further. With the explanation given in the notes, ἰδεῖν has the same meaning (*see*) in both places, while on the other hand the repetition is correct and corresponds to the thought. There are two distinct prayers, (1) that the dead ancestors may be conscious of what is passing in their former home, and (2) that the event may be such as to give them joy. These are represented in metaphor by (1) 'that they may *see* above them the house of their descendant' and (2) 'that they may *see it bright*'. To repetition as such, provided that it is logically correct, Greek had no objection whatever.

§ 23.

v. 865. μόνος ὢν ἔφεδρος δισσοῖς.

It has not escaped notice, that the chorus here, in speaking of Orestes as μόνος, ignore the part of Pylades. The fact is remarkable, and supports, I think, some inferences to which attention should be directed.

First, it is plain that they are not supposed to be aware of Pylades' position and importance in the enterprise. They could not speak as they do, if they knew that Orestes is accompanied by a person standing towards him in the relation hereafter disclosed, *vv.* 898—902. This passage therefore confirms the negative testimony of the whole play, that, according to the story of Aeschylus, Electra and her friends know nothing about the exile of Orestes, except the place of it. There have been no such preliminary communications as in the story of Sophocles.

But further, we cannot reconcile this μόνος... δισσοῖς with the supposition that Orestes and Pylades have come to the palace alone. Even an unknown companion, if conspicuous as the only one, would make it extremely unnatural to describe so emphatically the 'match' to be played against Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra as a match of *one* against *two*. But if (see on *v.* 709) they come with a party of followers, all is simple. The chorus are speaking only of principal persons, and would no more think of counting the followers of Orestes on one side than the soldiers of Aegisthus on the other. At present Pylades is to them merely one of these followers, and is naturally ignored with the rest. Contrast *v.* 937.

§ 24.

vv. 871—873. ἀποσταθῶμεν πράγματος τελουμένου,
ὅπως δοκῶμεν τῶνδ' ἀναίτιαι κακῶν
εἶναι. μάχης γὰρ δὴ κεκύρωται τέλος.

Such is the reading and punctuation of the MS. : but it cannot be right.

For what is the meaning of μάχης γὰρ δὴ κεκύρωται τέλος? The stress, be it observed, is on μάχης: 'for *of the fighting* the end is determined', that is to say, *the fighting*, of which the end is determined, is distinguished from something else, of which the end is not determined. Now in the first place no τέλος, no *end*, *finish*, or *result* of anything, is as yet determined. 'The ending of the affair', as the maid-servants have but this instant said, is now to come, and they propose to take themselves away from it. And as for 'the fighting', it is so far from being ended or determined, that it can scarcely be said to have begun. What has happened is that Aegisthus, going without suspicion into the building where 'the travellers', with the assistance of a servant or servants (*v.* 707), were pretending to make themselves comfortable for the night, has called for their principal (Orestes), and while talking to him has been slain on the spot.

Even this much however the maids do not yet know for certain. But one thing is evident, that (whatever the meaning of the shriek and outcries) there will be plenty of fighting before long. How it will go must be doubtful. There are the soldiers to reckon with, and all sorts of possible contingencies. If Orestes wins, the maids will be safe and triumphant. But suppose he does not. How will they then come off in an enquiry as to why the message of Clytaemnestra was altered, and why Aegisthus, instead of going to her, who sent for him, went straight to the lodging of the travellers? These incidents are the τάδε, for which, as they foresee with panic terror, they may yet be called to account. But, as they flatter themselves, they will be able to plead that they acted in good faith. They really thought it best, for the reason given, that Aegisthus should come without guards or attendants; and when they advised him to go to the merchants, they had no suspicion of anything wrong. For the unhappy *result* they are not responsible. "*It is the fighting, you see, which determined that*; and with this we had nothing to do; *we were not even there*". The sentence μάχαις γὰρ δὴ κεκύρωται is part of the imaginary excuse, given, after the fashion not uncommon in Greek narrative (and indeed English too), 'with inverted commas' or in the actual words. Whether Aegisthus or Clytaemnestra

would have accepted the explanation, Aeschylus leaves us perfectly at liberty to doubt.

Of the confusion between η and αι abundant examples will be found in this same play. Without a proper method of punctuation it was here almost inevitable, and would be prompted by the fact that the plural μάχαι is rare.

It is the rule with Aeschylus, as I have frequently remarked, not to put a weak word in such a position as εἶναι would here occupy according to the MS. The close of a sentence after the first foot of the verse is so decidedly exceptional, in the regular structure of his periods, as to arrest the ear: and to arrest the ear upon what is unimportant would be bad writing. Upon this ground alone the arrangement might be suspected, though it might pass as an exception. No rules of this sort are in any writer absolute. But as a fact the poet has here made an effective and artistic use of his ordinary practice. Not only the voice, but the run of the metre, would tell the hearer that the sentence is not finished at εἶναι: and this makes it easy to insert the parenthesis at this point, and to keep the significant τέλος for its proper place at the final close, where, guided by τελουμένου, the hearer is already expecting it.

§ 25.

v. 882. ἔοικε νῦν αὐτῆς †ἐπὶ ξυροῦ πέλας
αὐχὴν πεσεῖσθαι πρὸς δίκην πεπληγμένος.

Both the recent editors, Mr Sidgwick and Dr Wecklein, adopt here the conjectures αὖ τῆσδ' (Martin) and ἐπιξήνου (Abresch), and Mr Sidgwick pronounces ἐπιξήνου certain. Since however Hermann and Conington, as well as Wecklein, express doubts of it, I may perhaps say without indiscretion that I also think it unsatisfactory, and rather than accept it should prefer to give up the problem.

On technical grounds the change of ἐπὶ ξυροῦ to ἐπιξήνου might pass, though it is not particularly easy. But does it make sense? 'Her neck is in danger of falling near the block'. I cannot think this a natural way of saying 'Her life is in danger'. It is not proved, and is not likely, that 'the block' could be thus used at Athens as a general type for 'death'. With the Athenians beheading was not a normal punishment and is not often mentioned. It was regarded with some disgust, and generally relegated to barbarians (Aesch. *Eum.* 186, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 817). Slaves of course were liable to this as to all kinds of barbarity. Cassandra prophecies, literally no doubt, her own death by

the block (*Ag.* 1276); but Cassandra was a slave, and moreover this particular instrument happened to be then at hand, having been set out in preparation for the pretended sacrifice and feast (*Ag.* 1040 foll.). Here on the contrary the speaker has no reason to think of a block. Clytaemnestra is in no danger of beheading; she is in danger of falling by the sword of Orestes. Nor is the supposed form of expression correct; the *head* of a man may fall 'near' or 'beside' the block, but not, as it seems, his *neck*. This particular difficulty is escaped, if (with Mr Sidgwick) we can translate 'It seems that now again *her* neck will fall beside *his* block', *i.e.* the death of Clytaemnestra will follow that of Aegisthus. But even if *his* be warranted by the Greek, the block would still be irrelevant, since we cannot suppose that Aegisthus was really killed in this way.

The reading to which the MS. points is *prima facie* that of the text:

> ἔοικε νῦν αὖ τῆς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ πέλας
> αὐχὴν πεσεῖσθαι, πρὸς δίκην πεπληγμένος.

Is this incapable of meaning? I think not. The phrase ὁ (ἡ) ἐπὶ ξυροῦ or ἐπὶ τοῦ ξυροῦ is correctly formed according to analogy, and signifies the particular slave, male or female, whose office in the household is that 'of the razor'; cf. ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου *the butler*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως *the paymaster*, and other like phrases in L. and Sc. *s.v.* ἐπί. Remembering that the speaker is a slave, may we not reasonably suppose that the expression is modelled upon a slave-proverb, running somewhat in the form πέλας πεσεῖται αὐχὴν ὁ τοῦ ἐπὶ ξυροῦ *the barber's neck will be the next to drop*, and signifying that a particular person stands nearest to an imminent danger? How such a proverb might arise is plain enough: ἐπὶ ξυροῦ εἶναι (βεβηκέναι), *to be* (*stand*) *upon a razor-edge*, itself signified, by a metaphorical application, *to be in a perilous position*: so that in the supposed proverb ὁ ἐπὶ ξυροῦ is in effect a pun: "When necks are in danger, who should be so near the danger as ὁ ἐπὶ ξυροῦ?" The feminine τῆς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ is chosen because in the particular case the person intended is a woman; and νῦν αὖ, not easy to explain on other hypotheses, signifies merely that 'here' is 'another' instance of the dictum. The meaning will then be simply that, since the avengers of Agamemnon have come, none is in so much peril, or has such need to be stirring, as the queen.

From this point of view πρὸς δίκην should be translated *naturally, in the natural course of things*, rather than *justly* (see on Eur. *Med.* 411), and is preferable to πρὸς δίκης (Hermann).

To establish this interpretation, it would be necessary to prove

aliunde the existence of the proverb; but it seems sufficiently probable to justify the provisional maintenance of what is in effect the MS. reading. For *dicta* as a marked feature of slave-language see the speeches of the Watchman in the *Agamemnon* and of the Nurse in this play.

§ 26.

vv. 915—916.

ΚΛ. *ποῦ δῆθ' ὁ τἶμος ὄντιν' ἀντεδεξάμην;*
ΟΡ. *αἰσχύνομαί σου τοῦτ' ὀνειδῆσαι σαφῶς.†*
ὀνειδίσαι m.

It is plain that there is some error in *v.* 916, but not so plain that the error has been tracked to the right place. The editors all adopt *ὀνειδίσαι* from the first corrector of M, and discuss only whether *σου* should or should not be changed to *σοι*. The great majority decide, with reason, that a variation from the regular construction of *ὀνειδίζω* is here improbable, and the reading commonly printed is therefore

αἰσχύνομαί σοι τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσαι σαφῶς.

This is grammatically perfect, but what of the sense? *I am ashamed*, Orestes is made to say, *to put this reproach against thee in plain terms*, the reproach in question being his mother's passion for Aegisthus. This modesty and respect is surely somewhat sudden. What plainer terms could he use than he has used just before?

φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγὰρ ἐν ταὐτῷ τάφῳ
κείσει, θανόντα δ' οὔτι μὴ προδῷς ποτέ.

And again:

καὶ ζῶντα γάρ νιν κρείσσον' ἡγήσω πατρός·
τούτῳ θανοῦσα συγκάθευδε...

and so on. This gross invective has scarcely quitted his lips, and now 'he is ashamed to accuse his mother of adultery'. If there is any point in this contradiction, let it be explained; it appears to me incredible.

The sense of the verse must have been quite different. In asking what was the price for which she sold her son, Clytaemnestra affects to ignore Aegisthus. Now this is an infidelity not to her husband, but to her lover; and the point to be expected in Orestes' retort is this, 'It is shameful that you should need to be told what the price was', shameful because, as he scornfully implies, she might at least be true to her own

base choice. Such a taunt is not only consistent with his attitude throughout, but is conceived in the very spirit of what he says above, *θανόντα δ' οὔτι μὴ προδῷς ποτέ.*

From this point of view we may see (1) that the letters *σου* are right and represent not *σοι* but *σ' οὐ* : (2) that *ὀνειδῆσαι* is not an error for *ὀνειδίσαι*, for which there is no place in the sentence: (3) that *ου* belongs to the previous word (*τοῦτον*, *i.e.* *τὸν τίμον*). Thus we have

αἰσχύνομαί σ' οὐ τοῦτον εἰδησαι(?) σαφῶς

I am ashamed, that this (the price) thou dost not (know?) beyond doubt.

It remains to account for *εἰδησαι*. I believe that the person who wrote it meant what he has written (*εἰδῆσαι*), and attributed to Aeschylus, correctly or by inadvertence, the 'barbarous' form *εἰδῆσαι to know*, analogous to the Ionic future *εἰδήσω*, and to several irregular derivatives, such as *εἰδήμων*, *εἴδησις*. I do not myself think it easy to prove that Aeschylus may not actually have employed, in a particular place and for some reason now not traceable, a verb which occurs in Hippocrates. By Euripides no doubt such a word could not have been used. unless in a quotation or allusion, as he uses *ὁμόπτερος* in *El.* 530. But Aeschylus stands on a different footing. If *εἰδῆσαι* is to be rejected, we should replace the 'Attic' form.

§ 27.

v. 938. *ἔλακε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν.*

These words have hitherto been taken with what follows, *ἔλακε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ὁ πυθ. φυγὰς κτλ.* Thus taken they must be supposed corrupt, but the attempts to emend them have had no success. Two suggestions only have obtained any vogue:

(1) *ἔλασε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν*

he has driven to the goal (de Pauw) from the *scholium*, *ἤλασεν δὲ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ δρόμου, ὅ ἐστιν, ἤγνυσε τὸν ἀγῶνα.* But, even if the metaphor fitted the context, *ἐς τὸ πᾶν* is not *ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ δρόμου*, and the supposed words would mean simply *he has driven utterly* or *completely*, that is to say, they are void of meaning. Nor is the note any evidence against the integrity of the text, being accounted for, as Conington observes, by supposing that the writer connected *ἔλακεν* itself (cf. *ἐλήλακε*) with *ἐλαύνω*, an error committed even in the seventeenth century by Stanley.

(2) *ἔλαχε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν* (Hermann)

he has gained (his object) *completely*. But neither will this do: λαχεῖν *to receive* is the last word to be used, without explanation, of one who has 'got' with his sword; and it would require some indication of the object got. Even ἔλαχε δὴ τὸ πᾶν (Schütz), though better, is open to both objections, and to others.

Yet there is a presumption that the text is not far wrong. The general state of these *strophae* proves a clear tradition. The retention of such errors as καρύδικος, εὐφραδαῖσιν, and ἐπολολυξάτω impeaches indeed the science of the copyist, but establishes his good faith. His doubt about καρύδικος, to which he appends a query (ζτ), is almost pathetic in its scrupulous simplicity. He was deceived, as the most practised eye may be, by the resemblance, in certain forms, of β and κ. I have tried to show that after all ἔλακε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν is literally right, and wants only proper punctuation. There seems to be no reason why ἐς τὸ πᾶν, like other adverbs and adverbial phrases, should not be used as an imperative exclamation. So used, it would mean, that the work in hand is to be done thoroughly, and in the mouth of Δίκη therefore would mean, that the vengeance is to be unsparing and complete.

§ 28.

v. 947. ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχᾳ χερός.

I retain the opinion (see *Seven against Thebes*, App. II. and references there) that the prevalent translation, *Justice touched the hand* (of Orestes) *in the fight, i.e.* led and assisted him, is wrong and impossible. The objections are briefly these: (1) the repetition (κρυπταδίου) μάχας... ἐν μάχᾳ is then inappropriate; (2) ἐν μάχᾳ is superfluous; (3) the order of the words would be perversely confusing; (4) *of Orestes* cannot fairly be supplied; why *of Orestes* rather than *of her enemy*?; (5) 'to touch the hand' of one fighting is not in itself a natural gesture or symbol of aid, and in Greek (this is noticed by Conington) would be particularly unsuitable, since it actually was the familiar sign of supplication.

The *schol.* runs ἡ δὲ Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἡ Δίκη πάρεστιν (παρέστη Abresch) ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἴγισθον μάχῃ καὶ ἐφήψατο τοῦ ξίφους. δικαίως γὰρ Ὀρέστης ἠμύνατο, a paraphrase not committing the writer to any view of the construction. But the words ἐφήψατο τοῦ ξίφους are curious, and look as if they had been borrowed from a commentator, who had found somewhere, or invented, the reading ἔθιγε δὲ μαχαίρας (for μαχαιχαιρος), a very likely corruption.

§ 29.

vv. 973—975.

It has been hitherto assumed, in the discussion of this passage, that the clauses are to be divided thus:

σεμνοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν θρόνοις τόθ' ἥμενοι,
φίλοι τε καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐπεικάσαι πάθη
πάρεστιν, ὅρκος τ' ἐμμένει πιστώμασιν,

the antithesis beginning at φίλοι, so that the general sense is 'They were majestic in the past, and [though they are majestic no longer] they are loving still'. To justify the different view suggested in the notes, let us consider the embarrassments of the other.

(1) For τε we should require δέ (Abresch, Wecklein and others). The use of μέν...τε, in a direct and simple antithesis such as this, is not warranted either by cases where there is more than a simple antithesis (μέν...τε = *indeed...but also*, see on *Theb.* 906), or by the not uncommon πρῶτα μέν...τε (*e.g.* Eur. *Med.* 125), where there is no antithesis, and the irregularity, if there be any, is not in τε but in μέν. An interesting collection and discussion of such cases will be found in Mr J. B. Bury's edition of Pindar, *Nem. I.*, Appendix. It will be seen I think that this, though cited, does not really fall within the explanation.

(2) The clause ὡς ἐπεικάσαι πάθη πάρεστι is objectionable, as Conington felt: he writes "the words seem to mean *as one may read their fate by conjecture*". The construction of the acc. πάθη has been rightly doubted, though it might pass; and it is a graver defect that both πάθη and πάρεστι, which ought by the arrangement of the verse to be important, are superfluous, since ὡς ἐπεικάσαι would mean as much. The conjecture πάθει (Thiersch, Wecklein) is but half a remedy.

(3) Lastly and chiefly, even if δὲ and πάθει be accepted, there is a deeper defect in σεμνοί. For on this interpretation the former σεμνότης of the tyrants is irrelevant to the matter; and to make the first clause fit we want not σεμνοὶ but φίλοι or something equivalent. A chain of emendations (φίλοι Menzel, σύμπνοι Lafontaine, σύννοι Grotefend, κεδνοὶ Weil, ξυνοὶ Mehler, ὁμόνοι Naber, εὖνοι Wecklein) attests both the weight of the objection and the incorrigibility of the text.

It will be seen that the interpretation in the notes, without any change, turns all these difficulties at once: τε is right and necessary, ὡς ἐπεικάσαι is reduced to its proper limits, πάθη and πάρεστι obtain their proper importance, and σεμνοὶ becomes essential to the meaning.

This would be a sufficient defence of it, even if it did not (as I think it does) bring out a better and finer thought.

§ 30.

vv. 975 *foll.* ὅρκος τ' ἐμμένει πιστώμασιν·
ξυνώμοσαν μὲν θάνατον ἀθλίως πατρὶ
καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι· καὶ τάδ' εὐόρκως ἔχει.

So these verses are generally punctuated, the last two forming a separate sentence. No one however supposes that *v.* 976 is correct as it stands: ἀθλίως at least must be wrong, and the prevalent course is to change only this, to ἀθλίῳ, ἄθλιον, αἴσχιστον, etc. But that does not clear up all. There remains not only the 'awkward' phrasing (Conington) of ξυνώμοσαν...ξυνθανεῖσθαι—which ought to mean 'they swore to kill my father and share *his* death'—but also the suspicious resemblance, noted by many, between ἀθλίως πατρὶ and ἀθλίῳ πατρὶ in *v.* 979, a common symptom of patchwork.

Mr Sidgwick prints the text (with ἀθλίῳ) under reserve; and I should do the same, if there were not another piece of evidence to be adduced.

We find in the *scholia* (at *v.* 976) the annotation ξυνώμοσαν θάνατον τῷ πατρί, that and nothing more. Given the present text, with what object can this note have been written? The words of the note are the words of the text, arranged in the form of the text, and in the only connexion in which they can intelligibly be taken. Here is a thing to be accounted for, and the explanation will also solve the main problem.

We have here, I think, a clear example of an interpolation made out of a note. When the note was written, the text stood, as I give it, without *v.* 976. It was therefore desirable to explain, as in my note, the construction of καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι, *i.e.* (1) that it represents the oath which Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra swore, and (2) that it is only part of the oath, the rest being implied by καί (*also, even*) and understood from the general context. Some one, probably an Alexandrian, who comprehended this, wrote between the lines or in the margin the note as it stands, ξυνώμοσαν θάνατον τῷ πατρί, a rough supplement indicating the points required: and a later student, for whom the text was too difficult, *developed the note into a verse*, inserting μέν (though it is not correct) from his own invention, and 'conveying' ἀθλίως, with a little disguise, from *v.* 979.

It remains possible that there really was a verse (early lost) in the

place of *v.* 976; but I see no reason to think so. The pregnant brevity of the text without the verse is thoroughly Aeschylean, not the less so that it is a little hard; and it was written, we must remember, for those who knew the details of the story, and to whom the terms of this oath were probably familiar. There is another allusion to it in *v.* 894.

§ 31.

Conington's note on vv. 995 foll.

"Orestes wishes to find a name for his mother, without saying anything that ought not to be said. *νιν* is Clytaemnestra, as is evident from what goes before. He proceeds to identify her with the net, the instrument of her crime, enlarging on its villainous uses, as if he had nothing else in his mind, till in *v.* 1005 [1003] he at last returns to her. This identification is doubtless a symptom of the frenzy which is beginning to work on him, at the same time that it has its own imaginative truth. Precisely the same identification is made by Cassandra [in her prophetic frenzy] *Ag.* 1114 [1100] ἔ ἔ, παπαῖ παπαῖ, τί τόδε φαίνεται; ἦ δίκτυόν τί γ' Ἅιδου; ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἡ ξύνευνος [κτλ.]. Thus it would be worse than useless to follow Meineke [Hermann and others], anticipated by Scholefield, in transposing this and the seven following lines so as to insert them after *v.* 982 [980], even if κἂν τύχω μάλ' εὐστομῶν were likely to have been said of the net, which Orestes might surely characterize as he pleased without scruple".

§ 32.

v. 1002.

I have punctuated the text on the supposition that the construction is incomplete and the sentence unfinished.

The analogy of θερμαίνεσθαι χαρᾷ, θερμὴ καρδία, θερμὸς πόθος, etc. would justify either πολλὰ ἂν θερμαίνοι φρένα χαρᾷ *he would often make his heart glow with joy*, or πολλὴν ἂν θερμαίνοι φρενὶ χαράν *he would often make a glow of joy in his heart*. The two are equivalent and, in the style of Greek poetry, equally natural. Further, where the context sufficiently explained the metaphor, θερμαίνειν φρένα, *to make the heart glow*, might stand without express mention of the feeling, just as θερμὸς ἀνήρ may mean 'a *rash* or *sanguine* man', if the context so determines. It is therefore not impossible, on grammatical theory, that πολλὰ ἂν

θερμαίνοι φρενί, lit. *he would make many a glow in his heart*, should also stand as complete, the interpretation *of joy* being mentally supplied. But the turn of expression is singularly artificial, especially for Aeschylus, who does not commonly seek variety of construction for its own sake; and if it be assumed that the sentence is perfect, I agree with those who think that he would have written *φρένα* (Lobeck, Hermann, etc.). On the other hand, if the original was *φρένα*, to substitute *φρενί* was an unattractive and improbable error. I prefer therefore the middle way of supposing that the sentence is broken.

§ 33.

v. 1012. *νῦν αὐτὸν αἰνῶ, νῦν ἀποιμώζω παρών.*

I agree with Mr Sidgwick that *αὐτὸν* here is the dead father, Agamemnon, and that this is 'evident' from the comparison of *v.* 8. Nor do I think that it would have been doubted, if readers had attended to the Aeschylean emphasis of the pronoun *αὐτός*, which here, as often, is essential to the connexion of thought. The full comprehension of *αἰνῶ* is also important.

Alternatives suggested are (1) to refer *αὐτὸν* (*it*) to *φόνον*, but (apart from other objections) this is scarcely consistent with *αἰνῶ*: and (2) to take *αὐτὸν* (Wecklein) or *αὐτὸν* (Franz, Hermann and others) as equivalent to *ἐμαυτόν* (as in *Cho.* 220 *αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ τἄρα μηχανορραφῶ*), but this (apart from other objections) does not account for *παρών*.

§ 34.

vv. 1019—1022.

Recent texts agree in adopting here the conjecture made independently by Emper, Martin, and Paley,

ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἰδῆτ'—οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅπῃ τελεῖ—

Now that you may know—for I know not how (*this*) *will end* etc. This emendation, which requires no change except that of τ to Γ (for the difference between *ἄλλος* and *ἄλλως* is hardly more than a matter of spelling), deserves, for its ingenuity, the 'beautiful' applied to it by Mr Sidgwick. All the more instructive is the fact that it is not right.

In the first place it may be doubted whether in this context it is legitimate to leave *τελεῖ* without a subject: English, with an indefinite *it* to use, is not a safe guide in the matter. But, to pass over that, it is

impossible on this hypothesis, as experiment has proved, to deal satisfactorily with the following sentences. Unless we make further change, we must punctuate thus:

ὥσπερ ξὺν ἵπποις ἡνιοστρόφου δρόμου
ἐξωτέρω φέρουσι γὰρ νικώμενον
φρένες δύσαρκτοι.

But the position of γὰρ is felt to be intolerable. No parallel is adduced for it even from other tragedians or from comedy (see Prof. Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 1450); and in Aeschylus, who has his own practice in such matters, there is nothing near it. Of the remedies proposed the most attractive is Stanley's:

ὥσπερ ξὺν ἵπποις ἡνιοστροφῶ δρόμου
ἐξωτέρω· φέρουσι γὰρ κτλ.

To this however there are still objections, some which have been noticed, and some which have not. To say of the charioteer that he 'turns with the rein' out of the course is surely to ignore the very purpose of the simile. If his horses leave the course, it is because they will not obey the rein, with which, if he could, he would 'turn' them right. Further, as many have seen, there is thus no point in the peculiar comparative, whether translated 'further out' or 'somewhat out'. *Out of the course* is simply *out* of it; and we require therefore ἔξω. Further, the strong stop after the second foot of the verse (especially with the sentence run on without break from the verse before) is a phenomenon so extremely rare in Aeschylus, that, unless accounted for, it would suffice to impugn a correction which produces it.

And lastly, the original change, which leads to these difficulties, itself gives a sense more specious than sound. For it appears, from ἕως ἔμφρων εἰμί, that Orestes does know the fatal end to which the steeds of his mind are carrying him; he feels that he has but a few moments more for rational speech: and Franz therefore was right in thinking that here also we should want further change, not οὐ γὰρ οἶδα but εὖ γὰρ οἶδα.

The general sense—that the consolation offered does not meet the case—is truly given by Hermann's original conjecture ἄλλος τάδ' εἰδῇ· τοῦτ' ἄρ' οἶδ' ὅπῃ τελεῖ: and the right words, which are indeed those of the MS., by that of E. Ahrens ἄλλως ἂν εἰ δὴ τοῦτ' κτλ. Nothing more is wanted, except to punctuate and to construe them.

§ 35.

vv. 1057—1058.

I retain here, with a change of punctuation only, the original reading of M. The corrected reading εἶσσ' ὁ καθαρμός is easily accounted for, by supposing that the MS. copied had ειισσω or ειισσο, either of which would offer a common type of mis-spelling.

In discussing the text, it is assumed by many that the speaker is giving Orestes a reason for *proceeding to Delphi*. But it is clear from Orestes' reply that he is endeavouring to *detain* him. On this ground we must reject for example this:

εἷς σοι καθαρμός· Λοξίας δὲ προσθιγὼν
ἐλεύθερόν σε τῶνδε πημάτων κτίσει.

There is but one purification for thee: the touch of Loxias will deliver thee from this distress. Here εἷς σοι (in itself an ingenious suggestion) comes from Erfurdt, Λοξίας from Auratus.

Nor can we admit as probable the phrase Λοξίας προσθιγών *the touch of Loxias*, implying, as it naturally does, that Orestes is to be brought face to face with the god. That does indeed happen, but could not be thus anticipated, as if it were a matter of course. This also is against the reading above cited, or any reading which puts the stop at καθαρμός, and therefore goes to show that Burges, Davies, and others were right in taking καθαρμὸς with the words that follow.

Nor is any solution satisfactory, which demands so bold a change as that of Λοξίου to Λοξίας. This again shows that there is no stop after καθαρμός.

The attempt indeed has been made to construe as a complete sentence

Λοξίου δὲ προσθιγὼν
ἐλεύθερόν σε τῶνδε πημάτων κτίσει

by taking Λοξίου προσθιγὼν as a 'pendent' nominative (cf. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 947), *when thou shalt touch Loxias, he shall set thee free.* But, in order to make such a broken construction acceptable, it is necessary that the speaker should have some natural motive for beginning in the nominative: we must be able to see what, when he used the nominative, he was going to say. Here there is no such motive; the supposed remedial touch must be the act of the god, not of the suppliant; and to

write Λοξίου would be an offence against the laws not of grammar merely, but of thought.

These reasons, or some of them, are valid against all the proposed ways of changing the text. I have tried to show that, upon suppositions not proveable but reasonable, it can be explained as it stands.

It is objected by Conington against εἴσω καθαρμός *there is purification within*, the reading of Turnebus, that according to Greek belief "a murderer had to flee from his home and seek purification elsewhere". This would be valid against that reading and against mine, if τῶνδε πημάτων meant the pollution of homicide. But it refers simply to the supposed *hallucination*, the ταραγμὸς φρενῶν. The speaker believes that Orestes is suffering from a temporary delusion of the eye, connected perhaps with the homicide, but perfectly distinct from the religious pollution. If there were a known means of relieving such an affection, sanctioned by Apollo himself, it would be but natural that by friendly compulsion Orestes should be forced, if possible, to use that means, before setting out on his journey.

APPENDIX II.

Correspondence of Strophe and Antistrophe.

WITH regard to this matter (which in the *Choephori* is of uncommonly small importance) I have taken here the same position as in dealing with the *Septem* and the *Agamemnon*. To prevent misunderstanding I will briefly restate my position.

I do not attempt at present to lay down the limit of variation between *Strophe* and *Antistrophe* permitted by Aeschylus either generally or in any particular metres. I do not affirm that he permitted any variations. I make no positive assertion on the subject, believing that there is a certain preliminary process required, before any conclusion can properly be attempted. This process is, as described in Appendix I. to my edition of the *Septem*, to form a text of the choric parts of Aeschylus, in which there shall be admitted no alteration of the MS. reading, however slight, which depends for its justification solely on a theory of strophic correspondence. It is plain that, unless we pass through this stage, we argue in a circle; our theory of strophic correspondence, whatever it is, is made to prove itself. There has been so much of this circular argument, and the prejudices created by it, though diminishing, are still so far from extinct, that it is desirable, if only for clearness' sake, not merely to form such a preliminary text, but to print and explain it in this form—all the more desirable, if (as my studies incline me to believe) it will be found on review, when we have reached this stage, that we can make a reasonable hypothesis about the treatment of strophic correspondence by Aeschylus, which will not require for its support any great or frequent alteration of the preliminary text so formed.

The only assertion which I have made or make is the negative assertion, that the theory of *syllabic* correspondence between strophe and antistrophe has not been proved for Aeschylus, and conflicts with a large mass of *prima facie* evidence.

The phenomena exhibited by the *Choephori* are much the same in general as those of our previous plays; though there is some difference between this play and others, and even between different parts of the play. As I have said before, this is what we ought to expect. Referring for further explanation to the former volumes, and repeating once more that everything here advanced is to be taken as provisional, I will now note briefly those places where the strophic correspondence requires comment:

{*v.* 24. πρέπει παρηὶς φοίνισσ' ἀμυγμοῖς
v. 34. πνέων ἀωρόνυκτον ἀμβόαμα

that is to say,

answers to

For the purpose of singing, these rhythms are equivalent: the variations in the feet or 'bars' appear in fact to be common, and cannot (as I think) be impeached, except upon arbitrary assumptions of personal taste. Whether we do or do not like such a treatment of the strophe seems a consideration irrelevant to the question whether Aeschylus practised it. Nor is there any general agreement on the question of taste.

{*v.* 22. ἰαλτὸς ἐκ δόμων ἔβην
v. 32. τορὸς γὰρ φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ

that is,

=

But Lachmann's τορὸς δὲ may be right.

{*v.* 42. τοιάνδε χάριν ἀχάριν ἀπότροπον κακῶν
v. 53. σέβας δ' ἄμαχον ἀδάματον ἀπόλεμον τὸ πρίν

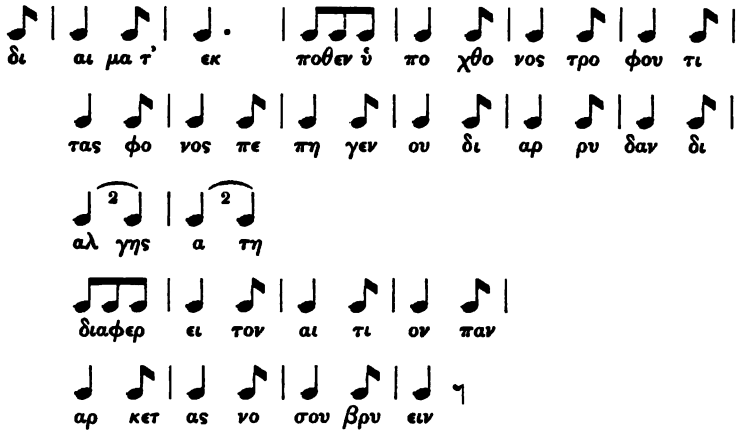
that is,

=

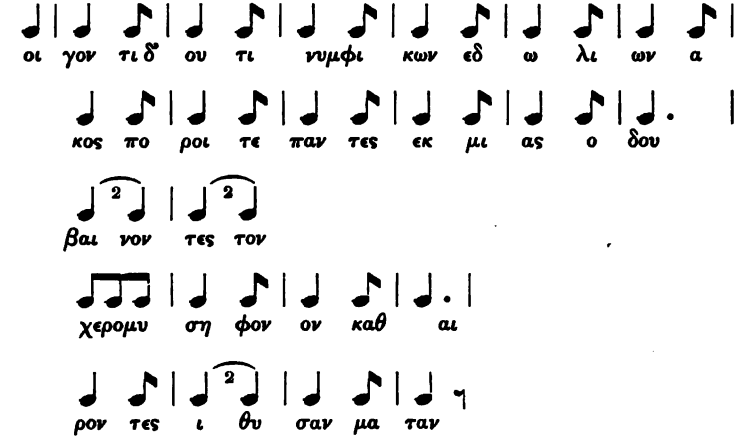
Here I have accepted Hermann's ἀδάματον for ἀδάμαντον, not (I admit) with strict consistency: for it is possible to sing *v.* 53, with ἀδάμαντον, thus—

But between two such forms as ἀδάμαντος and ἀδάματος MS. authority is of little weight; and the balance of probability seems to be the other way.

vv. 64—68.



This strophe is answered by *vv.* 69—73:



I have given these strophae in full, because they exhibit, as I consider, the very strongest *prima facie* evidence conceivable against the supposition that Aeschylus always used an exact syllabic correspondence, and not a merely rhythmic or quantitative. If these two groups of verses corresponded syllabically, the MS. text must be a mere wreck. I will venture to assert that, except the metrical theory in question, there is not a shadow of evidence for such a supposition. It will, I think, be

admitted by any impartial enquirer, that if no metrical theory were in question, the corrections of Kirchhoff and Scaliger in *v.* 73 (*ἴθυσαν μάταν*) would be taken as certain, restoring as they do the sense clearly required, at the cost of little more than the insertion of a dot (Θ for O). With these corrections there is not the least difficulty in setting the words to notes *musically* correspondent. Exact correspondence cannot be obtained without rebuilding the whole passage.

In the *Commos* there are few variations, and most of them uncertain.

v. 316. *τύχοιμ' ἂν ἑκαθεν οὐρίσας*
v. 333. *δίπαις τοί σ' ἐπιτυμβίδιος*

that is,

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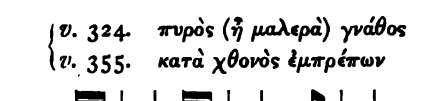
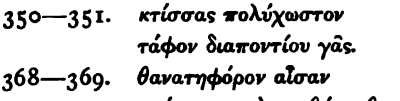


v. 324. *πυρὸς (ἢ μαλερὰ) γνάθος*
v. 355. *κατὰ χθονὸς ἐμπρέπων*

that is,

=



vv. 350—351. *κτίσσας πολύχωστον τάφον διαποντίου γᾶς.*
vv. 368—369. *θανατηφόρον αἶσαν πρόσσω τινὰ πυνθάνεσθαι.*

The rhythmical correspondence is simple. No reliance can be placed on the correctness of the forms *κτίσσας* and *πρόσσω* (as compared with *κτίσας*, *πρόσω*): but, whichever be read, the rhythm is substantially the same. However the text is not free from doubt. See the notes.

v. 329. *γόος ἔνδικος ματεύει.*
v. 360. *μόριμον λάχος πιμπλάντων*

that is,

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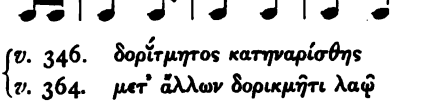


v. 346. *δορίτμητος κατηναρίσθης*
v. 364. *μετ' ἄλλων δορικμῆτι λαῷ*

that is,

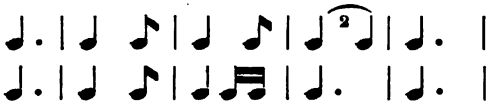
=

Here, if the text is right, there is the same balance of variations which has been noticed elsewhere (see previous volumes): the for appears in both verses, but differently placed. By taking δουρικμήτι from Blomfield, and with the scansion δορίτμητος, we can have exact correspondence, thus:

Whether this is really preferable is a question on which a modern, as I think, cannot wisely give an opinion.

v. 381. Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων.
v. 395. φεῦ φεῦ, κάρανα δαΐξας.

Here it is upon any theory legitimate to doubt whether the text can be right. It is physically possible to obtain correspondence of bars by setting the lines thus:



And the more carefully we look into the evidence on this subject, in Greek and elsewhere, the less disposed we shall be to treat anything as *impossible*, which is not physically such. But the probability, that δαΐξας was meant to be so sung, certainly seems less *prima facie* than that of Grotefend's correction κάτωθ' ἀναπέμπων, which gives to both verses the rhythm

vv. 404—405. ποῖ ποῖ δή, νεοτέρων τυραννίδες;
ἴδετε, πολυκρατεῖς ἀραὶ φθιμένων.
vv. 417—418. τί δ' ἂν φάντες τύχοιμεν ἄν; ἢ τάπερ
πάθομεν ἄχεα πρός γε τῶν τεκομένων;

that is,

answers to

The attempts to change ἀραὶ φθιμένων into something syllabically correspondent with γε τῶν τεκομένων seem as needless from a metrical point of view, as they have been unsuccessful in respect of language. The effect produced by holding the second syllable of ἀραί for the necessary length is, to my feeling, just one of those for the sake of which a master of the art would most prize a rhythmical form of composition. However the question is not one of taste at all, but of evidence.

v. 426. ἄνωθεν ἀνέκαθεν κτύπῳ δ' ἐπιρροθεῖ.
v. 447. χαίρουσι πολύδακρυν γόον κεκρυμμένα.

Here the metrical variation in the anacrusis (♪ and ♩) is common and unimportant. But the correction χαίρουσι for χαίρουσα (which appears obvious) would not have been overlooked but for a loose presumption that the first syllable should be short. The prevalent reading (χέουσα Dobree) has not any other recommendation, and is technically improbable. No one would have introduced χαίρουσα into this context without some very strong lead from MS. authority.

In *v.* 464 if ἰὼ (not ὦ, Hermann) be right, there is either an hypermetric anacrusis (see *v.* 469) or else the pronunciation was *yo*, for which in this word there is ample authority.

The first *entr'acte* (*v.* 583 foll.) is very regular in metre. If ἔρωτας be inserted (which I consider fairly certain), *v.* 596 has a 'short' anacrusis, *v.* 587 a 'long'. But this is common. In *vv.* 590—591 κἀνεμόεντ' ἂν | αἰγίδων answers sufficiently to *vv.* 599—600 -ρως παρανικᾷ| κνωδάλων. The same principle—the musical equality of ♩𝅗𝅥 and ♩ ♪, of which many other examples have already been given—justifies

v. 602. φροντίσιν δαεὶς
v. 612. φοινίαν Σκύλλαν

and makes it unnecessary to suppose that Σκύλλαν is a gloss upon κόραν or the like. In

v. 605. πυρδαῇ τινὰ πρόνοιαν
v. 615. χρυσεοδμήταισιν ὅρμοις

the rhythms are

It is easy to remove one variation by writing χρυσοδμήταισιν, but the other is more deeply rooted, and there is no reason to suspect either.

In *vv.* 609 and 619 syllabic equality may be obtained by scanning *ξύμμετρον* with the second syllable long and reading *πνείονθ'* for *πνέονθ'*. But I believe rather that the scansion is *ξύμμετρον* (cf. *vv.* 607, 617) and that the anacrusis in *v.* 619 is hypermetric or (which is in effect the same thing) answers to the 'rest' between the verses. See above on *vv.* 65—66 and *vv.* 70—71.

In the next two strophae (*vv.* 621—636) there is nothing to notice except the hiatus between *vv.* 625—626, which is probably intentional, and helps to throw into relief the repetition *ἐπ' ἀνδρί*. Note however that the division of the 'verses' is recognized at *v.* 604 so far as to lengthen the last syllable of *μήσατο*. For the most part the metre of these strophae is continuous.

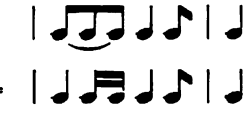
In the concluding strophae (*vv.* 637—648), so far as the words are preserved, there is no trace of irregularity.

The next Chorus (*vv.* 779—836) is not properly speaking a *stasimon melos*. As we have observed, there are but small portions of it which can be said with certainty, or even likelihood, to be strophic in construction. *Vv.* 779—784 answer as a strophe to *vv.* 790—795. The text of the antistrophe is (in my judgment) beyond suspicion, and should be taken as the metrical type in dealing with the dubious strophe. The corrections *τὰ σώφρον'* and *ἔλακον ὦ* will restore syllabic conformity in *v.* 782 and *v.* 784. The first at least appears to be unnecessary. As to *v.* 783, it will be time to consider the metre when anything can be established as to the sense and wording. If *διαδικᾶσαι* (*i.e.* *διαδίκασαι*) can be in any way explained, there is no reason in metre why it should not stand. In the second pair of strophae (*vv.* 796—798, 808—810), syllabic conformity may be obtained at the slight expense of changing *ἔσωθε* to *ἔσω* and *κλύετε* to *κλῦτε*. But the verses correspond in rhythm as they stand.

In the first part of the Triumphal Ode (*vv.* 934—951) there is one variation, of a kind common in the dochmiac metre,

v. 934. Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ
v. 945. κρυπταδίου μάχας

that is,



Of the second part nothing can be asserted with safety.

TRANSLATION.

(*For scenes, time, and stage-directions see the introduction and notes.*)

Orestes. O Hermes, god of the underworld, god of my fathers, god before whom are done feats of strength, preserve me, and side with me in the battle, I beseech thee, now that I have entered this land to seek my restoration and standing upon this mounded grave thus summon my father to hear and respond...

...a lock to Inachus for nurture and this second lock for mourning...

...for I was not there to bewail thee dead, O father, nor to thy corpse borne out did reach forth my hand....

...What do I see? What company may this be, these women that come in noticeable garb of black? To what event should my guess assign it? Is it that on the house hath fallen some sorrow new? Or should I suppose this bringing of libations an appeasement offered to my father in the world below? It can be nothing else. For among them, I think, walks Electra, my sister, marked by the bitterness of her grief.—Ah, grant me, Zeus, to avenge my father's death, and consent to fight in the battle for me.—Pylades, let us stand away, that I may make sure, who are these women that come with supplication here. (*Exeunt.*)

Chorus I. Sent from the palace have I come forth, to accompany libations for the dead with hand-stroke sharp. Plain is the red on my cheek from the rip of the tearing nail fresh-cloven (my *heart* hath ever as now lamentation for food); and the rending scream of woven linen spoiled hath uttered its laughter-mocking woe, as the fore-folded bosom-raiment felt the sorrowful blows.

For there came a spirit true, lifting the hair, who prophesied to the house in dreams of sleep; angry his breath; and in the dead hour of dark his cry from the inmost room rang out with terror, breaking upon

our women's chambers. And they who read this dream spake bold as from a god to whom they must answer, and said that it was the wrathful complaint of a soul below, angry against the slayer.

So an office of appeasement unacceptable, for the turning away of harm, is purposed, O Mother Earth, by her who sends me, by her impious will: but this address I fear to utter. For what redemption is there of blood that has fallen to ground?

O miserable hearth, O buried house! Sunless, loathsome to life, is the gloom that veils a house when the lord is dead.

The old reverence, which none might resist, or master, or fight against, which made way into the ears and hearts of the people, that now is falling away. But fear there is in some. Prosperity!—that among men is god or more than god. Yet Justice watches poised (on some descending swift in the light of day, though sometimes punishment bides in the darkness, growing while it waits, and sometimes darkness takes the offender ere aught is done); and because of the blood which the earth, that feeds us, hath drunk (for vengeful gore sets hard and flows not away), a penetrating plague runs through the guilty man, inexhaustibly breeding disease.

Even as for a virgin, when the chamber is opened, there is no remedy, so all streams meeting together, to cleanse from blood the polluted hand, may strive in vain.

But as for me—since the gods laid subjection upon me and mine (?), when they took me from my father's house and brought me into the state of slave,—to right and to wrong, in those that usurp the government of my life, I owe assent, and must keep down my heart's bitter hate. But I have tears (tears which I veil, so wild is the destiny of those I serve) for one...whom sorrow hidden is freezing into ice.

Electra. Women, who serve our house, who give it order, since ye are here to attend in this rite upon me, share ye my counsels respecting the bewilderment of our case. When I pour these offerings of sorrow, how can I speak, how can I pray, in terms of kindness to my father?

Would it be by saying that I bring the gift from love to the loving, from wife to husband? The offering of my mother! That I dare not; nor know I what to say, when I pour this sacred water upon my father's grave.

Or might I pray in another form, which stands in the custom of men, "that to those who send this 'wreath', may be given in return such gift, as is due to...the foul"?

Or without word or rite, in such fashion as my father was put away, shall I pour this out for earth to drink, and go back, like one that carrieth

out scape-offerings, when I have flung the vessel, without turning my eyes?

This is the question, whereof, my friends, I ask you to share the burden; for as members of the house we have a hate in common.

Keep not your counsel in your heart for fear of...those whom I name not. For our fate is fixed for us all, for the free not less than for him whom destiny governs by an instrumental hand.

O speak, if thou canst grasp aught beyond this present world!

Slave. In reverence for thy father's tomb, as it were an altar, I will speak, as thou commandest, the very thought of my heart.

El. Speak, as thou dost reverence my father's grave.

Sla. Utter, when thou pourest, such words as religion permits to those who love.

El. And to which of those bound to me may I give this name?

Sla. Name first thyself, then...all that loathe Aegisthus.

El. Then these prayers are to be made for me...and for thee?

Sla. It is for thee, understanding so far, thyself to consider that.

El. What other then besides am I to add to our company?

Sla. Remember Orestes, banished though he be.

El. That is well said, and right good instruction for me.

Sla. Upon them then, who are guilty of that blood, thou, mindful of it, must pray....

El. The words! Teach my inexperience; dictate the form.

Sla. ...That some power, divine or mortal, may descend upon *them*....

El. To judge or to avenge? Which meanest thou?

Sla. Plainly and precisely then—'to take life for life'.

El. And is this a pious prayer for me to ask of heaven?

Sla. Pious! How not? The requiting of evil to your enemy!

El. O Messenger, mightiest to pass between those above and below, O Hermes of the Deep, be messenger for me, and summon the spirits under earth to hear my prayers, my prayers that seek the regard of paternal eyes; summon Earth herself, who bringeth all things to birth, reareth them, and receiveth again into her womb. And I, as I pour these offerings, holy water for hands destined to death, I call upon a father, who hath pity for me and our dear Orestes, and say to him 'How shall we become lords of our house?' For now are we vagabonds as it were, bargained away by our mother (to purchase for a husband Aegisthus, partner with her in thy death), I into slavery, and Orestes into banishment from his wealth, while they proudly revel instead in that which thy labour won. May Orestes with some aiding fortune

come hither, that is my prayer to thee, and do thou, my father, hear it: and to me vouchsafe to prove my virtue more, far more, than my mother's, and my hand more innocent. These are my prayers for us; and for our adversaries I bid arise an avenger, O father, of thee, and that the murderers receive their due of death,—with this do I bar their imprecation, with this imprecation against them: to us bring thou from below what is good, with the gods to aid, and earth, and justice victorious.—Such are the prayers in aid whereof I pour these offerings. To you it belongs by custom to crown the prayer with lamentation, swelling with your voices the hymn of the dead.

Cho. Let the tear fall with a plash, and be lost in the deep where our lord is lost, fall on this mound (which bars both ill things and good, this horror, from which men turn, against which they pray) as the offerings have been poured thereon. Hark to me, hark, O Majesty, O Master; let thy dim soul hear. Woe, woe, woe! O for some mighty man of arms to deliver the house, a warrior whose hands should shake at the foe the Scythian weapon back-bent in the using, and wield in closer fight the weapon firm to its hilt!

El. It is done: earth hath drunk the offerings, and my father received. But here is strange news for you to share.

Sla. Tell it: my heart is dancing with fear.

El. Consider this cutting of hair, offered to the grave[1].

Sla. Whose can it be? What man's...or what woman's?

El. That is a thing easy for any guesser to judge.

Sla. Whereby then? Let my age be instructed by thy youth.

El. There exists none, save I, from whose head it could be cut....

Sla. Because they, to whom such mourning would have belonged, are foes of the dead too much to offer it.

El. Look! The lock is...to the eye...just like in feather....

Sla. Like what hair, pr'ythee? That is what I wait to be told.

[1] It appears to be commonly assumed that ὁρῶ here is an active form (first pers. pres. indic.) 'I see (or rather *saw*, hist. present) this lock' etc. But it is worth consideration whether it is not rather *middle* (second pers. sing. imperative), 'consider, contemplate'. The middle form of the present tense is rare in the Attic poets; but as Sophocles offers an extant example in dialogue, and apparently only one (*Trach.* 306), there is nothing *a priori* against an example in Aeschylus, who uses the middle aorist εἰδόμην many times. The present tense (signifying *contemplate with care*) is right in sense, and the imperative suits the context, I think, better than the other. It is clear from the sequel (especially *v.* 169) that Electra is offering the lock to the inspection of the slave: and that she has found it on the grave does not need to be said. Since τάφῳ is not in any case a proper locative, it does not affect the question.

El. Like ours, our own, just similar to the eye.—

Sla. May it then be...Orestes' offering, secretly here presented?

El. It is very like in look to the locks of *him*[1].

Sla. But how did *he* venture to come hither?

El. He has *sent* a piece from his hair, as an offering of love to his father.

Sla. Then have I more cause to weep than ever, if he is never to touch this land with his foot.

El. I too feel rising within the surge of bitter thought. I feel the stroke of a dagger struck home. Out of my eyes drop, thirsty-like, driblets of a strong flood forcing the dyke, as I behold this tress. For how can I suppose that any other, any native, owns this hair?...Yet neither again is it the murderess, who took it from her head, the murderess, my mother, owner of impious feelings towards her child, that match not at all with the name.

...How I myself can say right out 'Yes, this is indeed the cherished pride of him I love best in the world, Orestes'.....Nay, but I am flattered by the hope....Ah, would it had a kindly voice, like a messenger's, that I might not be tossed between two minds, but this tress might either tell me plain to spurn it away, if it were cut from the head of one I hate, or else be joined with me, as by birth, so also in mourning, to the adornment of this tomb and worship of my father!—However unto the gods we appeal, who know with what manner of storms, like mariners, we are beaten round: and if it is destined that we find safety, from a little seed may grow a mighty stem.—

See!...Yes, there are marks on the ground, to tell us more,...and marks of feet...similar marks...and like unto my own...Yes, yes! For here are *two* outlines of feet, those of himself, and those of some companion....In the measurements of heel and fore-part the slight-drawn lines agree exactly with the marks made by me....It is an agony... destroying thought!...

[1] Here ἐκείνου may refer to Orestes, as is commonly understood. But to this it is a strong objection that then ἐκεῖνος (Orestes) in the next line is otiose. To needless pronouns Aeschylus shows everywhere a marked dislike. It is also an objection that Electra, as appears from the indications of this scene and the whole play has no means of knowing the hair, as such, of the individual Orestes. If therefore ἐκείνου is Ὀρέστου, this line can mean no more than has been implied already, that the lock is Pelopid. But ἐκείνου is Αἰγίσθου, ἐκεῖνος Orestes, as might on the stage be made clear by gesture. Aegisthus is the only person, actually known to Electra, whose hair the lock (if it be that of Orestes) must resemble. See the sequel and Introduction.

Orestes. Say unto the gods that thy prayers have brought accomplishment, and pray for such success hereafter.

El. What boon then have I now gotten at their hands?

Or. Thou hast come to the sight of that for which thou hast prayed so long.

El. And whom (since thou knowest), whom in the wide world have I been summoning?

Or. Orestes, as I know; and much I marvel at thee.

El. And wherein then is it seen that my prayers are answered?

Or. Here am I, than whom thou needst seek no nearer friend.

El. Nay, surely this is some trick, Sir, devised to snare me.

Or. A plot then framed by myself against myself!

El. Nay, thou hast a mind to mock at my sorrows.

Or. At mine own then also, if indeed at thine!

El. As if then thou wert Orestes I bid thee—

Or. No, no, it is myself thou seest and wilt not know. Yet when thou sawest this piece of mourning hair, thou flewest on wings to the thought that what thou sawest was me, and scanning the tracks didst fancy thou sawest me in my marks. The lock is thine own brother's, whose head hath the form of thine own; put it to the place whence it was cut, and consider....And see this weaving, the work of thine own hand...the batten-strokes of it; look at the beasts in the pattern!—Control thy senses; lose not thyself in joy!

El. Ah yes, I know how sharp against us both are our kin!...—

Slave. Welcome to thy father's house, thou theme of her thoughts, her hope bewept of seed to continue her! Sure in the strength of thy father thou shalt win his house again.

El. O sweet is the eye that hath for me four parts of love! To thee must needs be given the name of father; to thee falls the love of mother, for mine hath merited hate; to thee the love of my sister, poor victim cruelly slain; and brother true I have found thee, giving worship, thou and none else, to me: and so may Might be my aid and Justice and Zeus (blessed name) Supreme!

Or. Zeus, Zeus, let thy contemplation behold what here is done[1]. See the orphan brood of an eagle sire, that was slain in the plaits and coils of a viper fell; and they are fatherless, gripped with hungry famine, for their chase hath not yet power to bring to the nest their father's prey.

[1] The form *θεωρὸς γενοῦ* is meant to imply (see on *v.* 124) that to *survey* from his high place is the function of Zeus, which he is prayed to exercise on this occasion.

Like them am I, and she too, Electra, in thy sight, fatherless young, both outcasts alike from our home.

El. And the father, who gave thee great offerings and much worship! If thou destroyest us, his younglings, from what such hand as his wilt thou get rich honour of feast? As, if thou shouldst destroy the eagle's race, thou couldst never again send signs that men would trust; so if this stock, devote to thine office, wither all away, it will not serve the altar on days of due sacrifice. Save it: from small thou canst raise the house to great, though now it seems fallen quite.

Slave. Oh children, oh saviours of the paternal hearth, hush, hush, dear children, lest some one hear, and to ease his tongue report all this to them that rule! Ah, may I one day see them dead in the spitting resinous flame!

Or. There is that which will not fail us, the mighty hest of great Loxias, who bade me go through this peril, whose voice oft told in the morning hour of horrors, freezing the warmth from the heart, to come if I did not make quest for my father against the guilty, who bade me slay them, even as they slew, answering with a scowl the offer of all their wealth. I, I myself, he said, should with my very life pay for neglect, under loads of cheerless misery. He, the instructor of man, declared that those fruits, which earth brings forth to appease his cares, do then breed in him threads of corruption, things that climb upon the flesh, with cruel cancerous jaws eating away its natural state; which corruption brings in the temples a dawning white. Moreover he said that apparitions of fiends, brought to effect by that paternal blood, phantoms which the victim, though his eye-brows twitch in the dark, can clearly see—for that dark element, whereby beings of the lower world can touch our sense, is derived from the dead of the race who call for vengeance; and frenzy and causeless fear of the nights vex him and harrow; and they make him be chased from his town, with metal scare in his tortured body. And such outcasts are not suffered to take part in the bowl, nor in libation of love, and from altars are debarred by their neglect of their angered sires[1]; none receives the man; none will lodge with him; with-

[1] Or 'by an angered ancestor invisible'. I mention here this question, which should have been raised in the notes: *ὁρωμένην* may refer either to physical *sight* or mental *regard*. It is commonly referred to the first; but there are considerations on the other side: (1) to judge by what goes before, we should suppose that a ghost would at least to the offender be *visible*, not invisible; and (2) the whole of this section (*vv.* 290—295) refers to the way in which the outcast is treated *by other men*. It is preferable therefore to take *οὐχ ὁρωμένην πατρὸς μήνιν*, *the disregarding of ancestral wrath*, in an abstract sense. The meaning is that men in

out any rites, without any friend he perishes at last, a vile mummy utterly shrivelled away. Such was the declaration, and must it not be believed? Even if I believe not, the deed must still be done. For thereto run many united impulses, the god's command, and grief for my father, a mighty power, and besides...there is the press of penury, the desire that my countrymen, the most renowned on earth, whose glorious spirit achieved the destruction of Troy, should not be subject, as now, to tyrants, women both—for woman he is at heart, or if not, I will let him know!

Cho. Now, O ye mighty Fates, grant by the power of Zeus achievement to that cause, to which righteousness passes over. "For enmity of tongue let enmity of tongue be rendered", so cries aloud Justice, who exacts what is owed, "and for bloody stroke let him pay bloody stroke. 'Do and be done by'—thus speaks a saying thrice-old".

Or. O father strange and terrible, what can I say, what do, to waft my signal from so far thither, where thou art anchored fast? Darkness and light are parted and opposite: and in like manner is barred the office of love, the dirge which in time past has glorified the sires of our house.

Cho. Child, the spirit of one that is dead is not conquered by all the fierceness of the devouring fire. He does make known his desires, but not so soon. As the parting soul can receive a lament, so the delaying soul can be brought to light. And the dirge for a father, for a parent, is a rightful, natural seeker, embracing with wide range both the worlds.

El. Hear then, O father, responsive sorrows repeated with tears. From two, thy children, lament at thy tomb shall sadly call thee back. —But the grave has received the exile, as the suppliant, indifferently. What here is good, what free of misery? What triple force can conquer fate?

Cho. Yet for all this God may, if he will, turn our music to happier notes, and instead of laments at a tomb there shall be a hymn of grace in the royal hall, restoring the re-united wanderer to them that love him.

Or. Ah, would that beneath Troy, father, thou hadst been done to death by the wound of some Lycian's spear! So hadst thou left thy living children glorious at home and admired abroad, having made for

general, seeing that the marked man must be one who is persisting in neglect of his religious duties as member of his family, will not admit him to religious communion.

thy tomb a mighty mound of the foreign soil, filled full with what was built thereon!...

Cho. ...Welcomed there by thy kin who fell with glory, illustrious among them in the underworld as a prince of rank majestic, and minister to the highest who rule that nether realm. For an *emperor* there was, while thou didst live[1], over those whose hands, great enough for the office of destiny, bear the rod which men obey.

El. Nay, not this either let us wish, that beneath Troy walls thou hadst died, father, and with an alien people slain in war been buried by Scamander's stream. Rather let us wish that his murderers had thus fallen, so that their fate had been borne to the ear from afar, and one had known nought of all this suffering!

Cho. These wishes, daughter, are finer than gold, but higher than highest happiness, than Paradise itself. To word them is all thou canst. But now—for our 'scourge' is double, its thud is beginning to reach—our side hath already got a helper below; our tyrants yonder (cursed be they!) have hands not fit for the rite; and the children's more effectual rite is performed.

Or. Through, through the ear this pierces, and as it were an arrow. Ah Zeus!—Zeus, who bringest up from below sore punishment for those mortal hands, which conceive and beget sin, punishment that delays, but is paid at last in full to the parents thereof.

Cho. O, may it be mine to sing a strong speeding cheer, when the man is stabbed and the woman dies! For why should I hide my heart's pennon? Perforce it flutters out, while before the prow is blown the salt spurt of my soul's infuriate hate.

El. But when (O when, for shame!), will Zeus lay each strong hand on a cloven head? Let faith be restored to its place. Right for wrong is what I demand. Hear me, O earth and powers of the deep!

Cho. Nay, it is law that gore-drops shed on the ground demand the shedding of blood again. For the Avengeress calls on havoc, and from those slain before will bring woe the second on woe the first.

Or. How long then, how long, O princedoms of hell? See, mighty Voices of the dead man's curse, behold the remnant of Atreus' house, helpless and dispossessed. Where, in Zeus' name, should one turn?

[1] I have translated here the reading of M ἦν...ἔζης. It has occurred to me, since the note was printed, that this may well be right after all. It indicates that the position of Agamemnon, like that of *the* βασιλεύς, who bore the title in Aeschylus' own time (the king of Persia), was unique. He was a 'king of kings', an *emperor*, and, as such, had left no successor.

Cho. Nay, my heart shakes me again, to hear this piteous tune. Anon it is despairing, and my blood runs black as the words I hear[1]; but when again it encourages, boldness turns sorrow away in answer to the happy sign (?).

El. But of what should we best speak? Of what else but the sorrows we have undergone at a parent's hands? A parent! Ah, soothe them as one may, those sorrows are softened no whit! Implacable, as the cruellest wolf, is the temper they took from the dam.

Cho. I was as a mourning-woman of Aria, like a woman of Cissia, who acts her grief with clenched blows; and many a gory mark there was of those fast-following straining arms that from on high descended, while with the shock my own head sounded, battered and all forlorn.

El. Fie on thee, mother, cruel foe, who with a foeman's funeral couldst bury a king without train of subjects, a husband without mourners, unbewailed!

Or. What, with no rites at all!

El. Thou hast said it.

Or. Oh shame! And for shaming so my father shall she not pay? Yes, by help of heaven, and by help of our own hands. Let me but kill, and let me die!

Cho. Yes, yes, and this thou shouldst know, that his limbs were lopped, at the instance of her, who so buried him, and with the intent to put a bar between him dead and thee alive.—Doth he hear how his father was cruelly outraged?

El. Our dead father was used as thou sayest. I myself was not by, being slighted, of no account. Shut out from the chamber, like a mischievous dog, I answered, not with laughter but readier tears, to their rejoicing that covered my piteous lament. Let such things heard be writ in thy mind.

Cho. Yes, write them there; but aid them first to pierce thy sense by calm, steady thought. For what thou hast heard is fact; thou art fain thyself to hear more; but a temper of steel is fittest for entering into the lists.

Or. Thee, father, thee I summon. Take part with thine own.

El. And I, all tears, add my voice to his.

Cho. And all this company together add their sound. Obey and visit the light, and take part with us against the foe.

Or. Battle with battle, right with right shall encounter.

El. Ye gods, determine the right as rightful is.

[1] Literally 'my bosom is blackened to the words I hear'.

Cho. A shudder steals upon me as I hear the prayer. Destiny hath been waiting long, but in answer to the prayer it must come.

Or. El. Cho. Alas for the inbred woe, the curse that beats an ill tune with bloody strokes! Alas for sorrows, heavy and hard, alas for the never-resting pain!

The lint that must cure this woe is within the house; it is to be had not from any without, but from them of the house itself, by means of a cruel and bloody fight.

To the gods of the underworld this hymn is sung.

Cho. Now hear, ye blessed ones of the deep, this invocation, and with ready will send to these children victorious aid.

Or. O father, who wast so unroyally slain, do thou, implored, give me mastery in thy house!

El. And I too, father, have a like thing to ask of thee, that I may compass Aegisthus' death, and so find a groom to wed me (?).

Or. For so will the feasts of the living be made with a part for thee: but otherwise at the rich burnt-offering thou wilt lack thy due of fatness shed on the ground.

El. And I, of my full inheritance from my father's house, will at my bridal bring thee poured offering, and prefer this grave before all.

Or. O earth, let my father arise to behold my battle.

El. Yea, O Persephassa, and give him even now his mould and strength.

Or. Remember the lustration whereby thou wast slain, my father,...

El. And remember what wrapping new thou didst put on....

Or. Thy feet, O father, entrapped in fetter of metal strange...

El. And veiled with a shroud of foul device.

Or. Art thou waking, father, at these reproaches?

El. Art raising up (O welcome were it!) thy head?

Or. Either send thou vengeance to fight with thine own, or grant us wrestlers to have 'the like grip as before', if beaten thou wouldst win and have thy revenge.

El. This cry, this last cry also hear, O father! See these, thy younglings, how they kneel at thy grave, and pity thine offspring, girl and boy together.

Or. And bring not destruction on this, the seed of Pelop's line. For by this means thou art not dead, though thou hast died[1].

[1] [For children are to a man a saving means of renown after death. Like floats of the net they hold up the weight, and save from the deep the hemp-yarn there engulfed.]

El. Hearken to the wail for thy sake so piteously made. Thyself art saved, if thou dost reward this address.

Cho. See now, it is well enough, that ye have given the extent of this address to compensate the tomb for its fate in lacking lament. But now, since thy heart is set to do, forthwith to the work, and try thy fortune!

Or. It shall be done. But there is a question first to ask, not out of the course. How came she to send the offerings, upon what reason, trying after so long to make compensation for a thing beyond remedy? A wretched boon, sent to her victim dead, unconscious! My guess cannot fathom it. The gift so unproportioned to the offence! For 'though one should spend the world to pay for the spending of only blood, yet were the labour in vain': so runs the saying. Content me, if thou knowest, by explaining this.

Cho. I know, dear son, for I was there. It was after a dream, a waking terror of night, that, shaken at heart, she sent this her impious offering.

Or. Are ye further informed of the dream, so that ye could tell it right?

Cho. She gave birth in her vision to a snake, by her own story of it—

Or. But what was the end of the story, its closing sum?

Cho. She bound her offspring, after the fashion of a babe, in swaddling bands.

Or. And what was the food, which the new-born monster wanted?

Cho. She herself in her dream gave it the teat.

Or. But how did the udder escape hurt from the venom?

Cho. Because in the milk the suckling drew forth the clotted blood.

Or. There cannot be mistake: the vision refers to a man!

Cho. Then she awaking screamed for terror; and in the dark house the eye of many a blinded lamp was opened, that her royal will might be done. And therefore she sent here these offerings of love, thinking this were a lancet-stroke to make all well.

Or. Now do I make my prayer to this earth and to my father's grave, that this dream may find its accomplishment in me. And I interpret it, look you, so as to tally at every point. For since the serpent came forth from the same place whence I came, since it was wrapped in the same bands (?), and took between its jaws the nipple which gave me food, but mingled the kindly milk with clotted blood, and at this thing my mother shrieked with horror, then surely, by her

nursing so strange a prodigy, she is fated to a violent death, and I, turned serpent, am her slayer, according as this dream declares.

Cho. For reader then of this prodigy I choose rather thee: and 'Amen' to thy reading! Expound now to us thy friends[1]; tell one and another to do or not do, and—

Or. The instruction is but simple. My sister here must go home, with charge to cover the plan contrived by me; that, as by plot and plot they wrought the death of a noble prince, so they may be caught and perish in the same snare, as was declared likewise by Loxias, by high Apollo, a prophet never found untrue. In the guise of a traveller, with full and complete equipment, I shall come to the outer gate—and *Pylades* here (such is his name) along with me—to be entertained within as a friend (which indeed I shall be) *of the spear*[2]. And both of us will bring[3] the speech of Parnassus, imitating the shrillness of a Phocian tongue. Suppose then that a gate-keeper gives us no glad welcome, as may be when the household are sheer possessed with trouble: then we shall wait, making the passer-by to point his conjectures at the house, 'Why then does Aegisthus shut his gate against his visitor, if he is here at home and knows of his coming?' And if once I pass the threshold of the outer gate, and find that man there sitting in my father's throne, or he comes thereafter face to face with me, and says—be sure that, as he says it, his eyes will fall—then, before he can say his 'Whence comes my visitor?', swift death from my steel shall arrest his *whence* with a *full stop*. And the Avengeress, not stinted of gore, shall drink in blood unmixed her third and crowning draught.

Together then let us act; do thou watch well what passes within, that all may come pat to the moment; to you my charge is to bring a tongue well guarded both for silence, where fitting, and for saying the word in season; and my comrade (this remains) shall come hither and behold the fray, when my swords are set in order for it. (*Exeunt.*)

Chorus II. Many are the strange and woeful terrors bred of the earth, and the embracing arms of the sea are filled with monsters, foes

[1] The point of φίλοις is that in the preceding explanation of Clytaemnestra's dream Orestes has been serving, as it were, the function of an ἐξηγητὴς ἐχθροῖς, *an interpreter to the enemy*.

[2] Translated into a language in which the assonance of the name is lost, and no equivalents, like or unlike, exist for ξένος or for δορύξενος, these sentences have no longer any point: but this cannot be helped, and indeed the loss to a modern ear is not much.

[3] Or, more probably, 'will speak'.

of humanity; offspring also hath the interspace, the lights of the air; and all that flies or walks the ground can tell that the winds too have their hurricane-wrath. But who may describe the high-daring pride in a man, or the passions all-daring in women stubborn of heart, passions companioned with misery of the human race? And when from the yoke and union of the home female passion masterfully revolts, then it surpasses both monsters and human kind.

Whoso is not light-minded, let him know this by study of that thing which the child-murderess, Thestius' cruel daughter, wittingly did, fore-shown by the fire and fore-devised, when she consumed the red brand, which dated with her son from the hour of his coming with cry from the womb, and matched his span of life to the destined day of his fate.

Or again legend offers to hate the bloody Scylla; who destroyed one near to her love at the bidding of one who was naught to her, being tempted and won by the golden necklace that Minos gave. She severed (O ruthless heart!) from Nisus, breathing unguarded in sleep, the hair of his immortality, and the herald of death took his soul.

But since the ungentle feats here cited fit not the present theme—It is from a fell wedlock that this house prays to be delivered, and it is a man, a man and a soldier, against whom thou pursuest a plot of woman's cunning, imitating thine adversary, but showing thus respect to that hearth without fire, his cowardly womanish temper,—yet above all sins in story stands the sin of Lemnos, and each time that any deed of horror is lamented, once more to *the sorrow of Lemnos* men liken that crime; so that, because of heaven's abhorrence of that sad act, the race of those Lemnians perishes with dishonour from among mankind, since what heaven hates hath no regard from any. Is not then every example brought with good right to my list?

Lo! the sword is now nearing the heart, to strike with help of Justice a piercing wound of its keen point. [For when, quitting lawful reverence, we tread unlawful ground, it is not all God's ground which our proud feet trample. No! Then[1]] Justice is setting her anvil, and Fate, the sword-smith, is forging for the deed to come; [and to the child of their work the door of his home is opened, that he may continue there the old pollution, by the insatiate, unforgetting Fiend, whose cry is heard at last.]

Orestes. Slave, ho! To the main gate! Answer my knock.—Ho,

[1] Text corrupt. The sentences in brackets, especially the second, represent only what I suppose to have been the sense.

slave, and ho again! Is any within?—Once more! Let some one appear from within, if the house remains a hospitable house in Aegisthus' hands.

Gate-keeper. Aye, aye. Here I am. Of what country are you? And whence travelling?

Or. Take my message to the lords of the house, to whom I bring with me news which they know not,—and do it with speed, for indeed the dark chariot of night is fast coming on, and it is time for trading-folk to slip anchor in some house of common entertainment—bid forth to me one of those that bear authority here, not the wife; she has no power, and the husband were the seemlier; for then a coy theme compels not speech to be veiled; man to man speaks boldly and shows his proof without disguise.

Clytaemnestra. Friends, let us know your need. At your command is all such entertainment as beseems this house, warm bath, couch to soothe toil, and honest eyes to attend. But if there is business to do, which calls for counsel, that is man's work, and to man we will impart it.

Or. I am a traveller from Daulis of the Phocians. As I was on my way to Argos, conveying a freight upon my proper account, just when I parted off in this direction, it was said to me by one, a stranger unknown, who had fallen in with me and had asked my road and told me his—Strophius, as I learnt in converse, was the Phocian's name—"Since, friend, for other cause thou art going to Argos, pray charge thy memory to tell his parent that Orestes is dead; be sure not to forget. So whichever plan prevail in his family, to bring him home, or to bury him where he dwelt, expatriated once and for ever, bring the command accordingly on thy voyage back. This much is done, that between the ribs of a brazen urn his ashes, with proper lament, have been put away." That is all the message, as given to me. If at this moment I am speaking to a person of authority, to one of his kin, I do not know: but the parent should know the fact.

Clyt. Ah me, how we perish, destroyed without and within! O evil fate of this house, invincible foe, with how wide a survey dost thou bring under the far aim of thy shafts even that which had been set with care out of the way, stripping me, alas and alas, of those I love! And now it is Orestes—whose prudence still had kept clear of the fatal avalanche his rescued foot—Orestes now records thee present even in that very home where with returning strength he was projecting a triumphant carouse[1].

[1] I have omitted to point out in the notes that in this sentence there is a 'dramatic irony'. It is literally true, though in a sense very different from that

Or. Had it lain with me, gladly would I have commended myself to entertainers so magnificent by a fact acceptable, and got reception. What good will is greater than a traveller's towards those who entertain? But it was, to my thinking, something of an impiety, to leave unachieved such service to those who used me well, in spite of my promise and the hospitable bond.

Clyt. Be assured, thou shalt not the less receive according to thy merit, nor find thyself less welcome to us. Some other, in any case, must have come to bring this news.—But now is the proper hour for travellers, after their day, to obtain of their long journey the reward that befits. Conduct our guest himself to our chambers of entertainment for men, and also these, his attendants and companions; and there let them receive what befits our house. And do it, I charge thee, as liable to account. We meanwhile will impart the matter to the master of the place, and lacking not those who bear us love will take counsel on this sad event. (*Exeunt.*)

Chorus I. Come now, friends and fellow-slaves, is it not time that we prove what our lips can do in Orestes' cause?—O revered earth, O revered mound, whose shore is now raised over the royal dead whom fleets obeyed, hearken now, aid us now. Now is the hour for Persuasion to bring her aiding wiles into the field, and for the herald of the deep, together with that dark shade, to sentinel the contest of deadly swords.

'The traveller' belike is at his fatal work—But here, I see, comes, all in tears, she who was Orestes' nurse. Whither then bound, Cilissa, dost thou pace forth, with grief for thine unpaid companion?

Nurse. To summon with all speed Aegisthus, by order of her who hath the travellers in hold, that coming hither he may learn more exactly, as man from man, this new-told rumour—of her, who before her servants hides within eyes of pretended gloom her smiles for a thing well done for her, but miserably done for this house, that suffers at the rumour told by the travellers...all too plain. I warrant he,

intended by Clytaemnestra, that Orestes is now 'recording the Fate of his family as present there, where the hope to revel was sustaining his strength'. The difference is that Orestes has not suffered the fate of the family, but comes to execute it, and the 'house (*δόμοι*)', where 'he hopes to revel', is not his Phocian refuge, but the house of his fathers. And in this aspect also both *πόδα* and *ἐγγράφει* have new significance; for it is *with his foot* (see *vv.* 204 foll.) that he has actually recorded and is recording the presence of the avenger upon his native soil.

hearing it, will bless himself, as soon as he learns the story...Oh me, oh me! The griefs of the past, all kinds of them, hard to be borne, that befell in this house of Atreus, how did they grieve the heart in my bosom! But never before did I undergo such a woe as this. Those sorrows with patience I wore through, but...to hear...Oh my Orestes, the babe I spent my soul on, whom I took to nurse from the womb,... and at each loud restless cry...and a trouble it was, oh dear!...and nothing for it had I!...For an infant, that cannot think, you needs must rear (how else?) by guessing its mind[1]. The cry of a child not out of the swaddling-clothes says nothing: it may be hunger that grips it, or thirst perhaps, or the water—and come it must, when the soft flesh wills to be eased. These needs I had to forecast, and oft, I trow, was mistaken, so that fuller and swaddler shared one office, and the two handicrafts fell to me, who received Orestes at his father's hands, and now hear, alas!, that he is dead. But he to whom I go is the destroyer of this house, and will be glad to hear of these tidings.

Slave. How then, according to the message, is he to come? Without state?

Nurse. Or how otherwise? Say it again more plainly, and let me understand.

Sla. Or with soldiers, I mean. Or perhaps een alone?

Nurse. The message is that he is to bring attendants armed.

Sla. Then do thou, as thou hatest our tyrant, give not that message, but bid him come, in order to hear without alarm, by himself. Do it with all speed...with a heart rejoicing....

Nurse. But art thou verily sane? 'Rejoicing' at the present news!

Sla. But what if Zeus means at last to change the weather of our distress?

Nurse. Nay, how? Orestes, the hope of the house, is gone.

Sla. Not yet. A diviner, though of little skill, may perceive that.

Nurse. What sayest thou? Knowest thou aught apart from what has been told?

Sla. Go with the message, perform thy charge. The gods take care for whatever hath their care.

Nurse. Well, I will go, and will do as thou biddest. May it, by the gods' grace, prove all for the best! (*Exit.*)

Cho. Now at my prayer, O Zeus, Father of the Olympian gods, grant success to them who desire happily to see the good discipline of the house established. [Take a just part: this word is all my cry. Mayst thou, O Zeus, mark it![2]]

[1] Or 'by a mental way'.

[2] Words and meaning uncertain.

And ah, Zeus, prefer now to an enemy him who is there within: for if thou raise him to greatness, thou wilt at thy pleasure receive twofold and threefold return.

Forget not that the young steed, orphan of a sire whom thou lovedst, yoked as he is to a chariot of distress—And who, governing his horse in a race, would require of him perfect grace?—now sees in the ground before him the stretch of his finishing steps.

And ye, that within the house dwell pleasantly in chambers of richness, ye gods, that feel with us, hear!

Now, now cause the blood of old crimes to be rid away by new[1] revenge. Murder is aged: let it have progeny in the house no more. And for those dead who fell with glory, do thou, who holdest the Great Portal, grant that they may look up unhindered to the house of our hero, and that their loving eyes may behold its brightness freed from the veil of gloom.

And hereto let the Son of Maia aid, as belongs to him, for none so fairly wafts success to the port, when so he will.

Oft, at his pleasure, he will clear the most obscure, but when he means not to be comprehended, he offers to men's eyes the darkness of very night, and daylight makes him no plainer.

So when that good moment of our voyage comes, O then we will launch our 'Mourner's song' for the liberation of the house, a wafting cheer of women's voices together timed, "The vessel speeds! My gain, my own, is rising now, and bane departing from those I love."

And thou, when it is the turn of doing, do without fear, overbearing her cry of 'Child!' with the sound of 'Father, father!', and accomplish a 'bane' for which none can reproach thee, having taken to thy bosom the heart of Perseus, and earning by cruelty the thanks of thy beloved, both buried and living on earth, by putting within thee the bane of murder only for the destruction of him that is guilty of death.

Aegisthus. If I have come, it is but because I was summoned. A strange story this, which, I hear, is told by travellers that have come to lodge here, news no less unpleasing than the death of Orestes. From such addition to the load of the house, were it the weight of a drop, the old blood-sore, raw and bitten, must wince for fear. How am I to conceive the story? Is it true? Is there life in it? Or is it but a scaring tale of a woman, which leaps into the air and dies in nothing? What canst thou tell me herein to convince my thought?

Cho. We have heard that—But go in to the travellers and enquire

[1] The 'revenge' is to be 'new' in the sense that it is not to produce yet other deeds of violence, as has been the case hitherto, but is to be final.

of them. For enquiring of a matter, there is no strength in a reporter like going yourself to the source.

Aeg. I want to see *the* reporter, and to question him again, as to whether he was himself present in the neighbourhood of the death, or whether he speaks from the weak information of rumour. I warrant 'they will not deceive a mind that is not eyeless'. (*Exit.*)

Cho. Zeus, Zeus, what am I to say, whence now to begin my prayers and adjurations? How, with such good will, to give my desire words adequate ere I close? This is the moment, when either the murderous cleavers, essayed (?) before and stained, will make an utter destruction of Agamemnon's house: or else he, kindling a fire and a light for the cause of freedom and lawful rule, shall win the high fortune of his fathers. For such a prize, succeeding sole to a bout of pairs, Orestes with strength divine is now to wrestle—and O, may he wrestle victoriously! (*A shriek and outcries within.*)

'Ah! Ah!' And 'Ah!' say we. How goes it? What is the fate of the house? Let us get away from the finishing of the affair, that so we may pretend ourselves blameless, if it has been unhappy in the end, 'for after all', we shall say, 'it is the fighting which has decided that'. (*Exeunt.*)

Servant. Woe, and yet woe again, for my lord undone (?)[1]! And woe once yet for a last farewell[2]! Aegisthus is no more. Now open, open quick, and unbar your women's door. Though the need is for a man, and a lusty,—not to help the dead—no use in that—Ho, I say, Ho! Ho!—I scream to the deaf, and bay to idle sleepers without effect. What has become of Clytaemnestra? What is she doing? It will be another case of the 'barber's neck', near in the natural course to be stricken down.

Clytaemnestra. What is the matter? What clamour is this thou raisest to the house?

Servant. The dead are slaying the live. That is my news. (*Exit.*)

Clyt. O me! I read the sense in the riddle. We are to perish by treachery, as indeed by treachery we slew. Give me a battle-axe, some one, and quick! Let us know whether we are victors or vanquished. For to this point this woeful way hath brought me.

Orestes. Ah! I was going to seek thee. *He* hath enough.

Clyt. O me! Dead, my loved, my gallant Aegisthus!

Or. Thou lovest the man! Therefore shalt thou lie in one grave with him. Dead though he be, thou shalt never play him false.

Clyt. Stay, O my son; have pity yet, my child, on this, the breast

[1] See note below on p. 232. [2] προσειπεῖν *say farewell*; Eur. *Hipp.* 1099.

at which thou oft, slumbering the while, didst suck with thy toothless mouth the feeding milk. (*Enter Pylades.*)

Or. Pylades, what shall I do? My mother! May I spare her?

Pylades. And what then of Loxias' command yet unfulfilled, his Pythian oracle? And the faith of oaths, what of it? Think that the enmity of all the world is better than that of heaven.

Or. I judge thy sentence better, and thou exhortest me well.—Come with me; upon the dead man there I choose to slay thee. Because, when he lived, thou thoughtest him a better man than my father, so do thou sleep with him in death, forasmuch as him thou lovest, him, and whom thou wast bound to love, dost hate.

Clyt. It was I who gave thee thy rearing, and now I would live my term.

Or. With the blood of the father on thee shalt thou share house with me?

Clyt. Nay, child, the blame should lie in part on our Destiny[1].

Or. Then this thy death also destiny did devise.

Clyt. Hast thou no respect for a parent's curse, my child?

Or. Not for a mother's, who cast me away into misery.

Clyt. It was no casting away, when I sent thee to the house of our ally!

Or. A two-fold sale of me, of me a free man's son!

Clyt. Show me then the price which I am thought to have received.

Or. O shame! That thou shouldst not know it beyond a doubt!

Clyt. Nay, but make mention likewise of thy father's slips.

Or. It is not for thee, idle at home, to be hard on him who toiled afar.

Clyt. It is pain for a woman to be kept from man, my child!

Or. Aye, but man's labour maintains her, idle at home!

Clyt. Thou, it seems, wilt take, O child, the life of thy mother away.

Or. Thou, not I, wilt be thine own murderess.

Clyt. Take heed; beware of a mother's enraged pursuers.

Or. But my father's, how shall I escape them, if I neglect the duty?

Clyt. My words, I see, are vain as the dirge of the living unheard by the tomb.

Or. Yes, vain, for my father's fate with serpent voice calls for thy death.

Clyt. Oh me! This is the snake which I bare and nursed!

[1] Should we read ἡ μοῖρα?

Or. Aye, a true prophet indeed was thy dream-prompted fear.—Yes, the death thou didst sinfully do shall be likewise done upon thee. (*Exeunt Or. and Clyt.*)

Pyl. I have sorrow even for these, for this misery...double-fraught. But after so many deeds of blood, since Orestes...alas!...hath topped them all,...—This any way is better, that the sole light of the house should not be utterly quenched. (*Exit.*)

Chorus. As Vengeance on the sons of Priam after long time came with retribution heavily-fraught, so hath she come into the house of Agamemnon, two-fold to prey, two-fold to fight, crying 'Slay, slay utterly!', in figure of the exile duly urged with warning from Pytho's oracle divine.

Raise ho! the joyful cry for the quick return of the house from grievous tyranny[1] and the wasting of wealth by a cursed pair, from a songless, weary way.

Upon the deviser of treacherous fight she came with retribution of craft, and in the fight of strength she smote, true daughter of Zeus that she is, and by us mortals happily named—*Dikê*, whose wrath breathes destruction to those whom she hates.

Raise ho! the joyful cry *etc.*

[2][Vengeance hath come, sent by 'Loxias who dwells in the great cavern' upon Parnassus' hill. She was long delayed, but now we

[1] δεσποσύνων...κακῶν must, I think, belong together, since (1) κακῶν without definition is weak in itself and does not balance κτεάνων τριβᾶς, and (2) δόμων wants no definition, and if it did, δεσποσύνων is not an apt one. But it must be admitted that the order of the words is in that case extremely unnatural, and I would suggest that we ought to read ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ ἀναφυγὰς δόμων | δεσποσύνων κακῶν κτλ. A ready cause for the transposition is offered by the mis-reading ἐπολολυξάτω (*sic* M), after which the *hiatus* (ἐπολολυξάτω ἀναφυγὰς) would appear impossible. The word δεσπόσυνος is used, from the 'constitutional' point of view, in an invidious sense. I strongly suspect that the mysterious παγκοίμοι δεσπότου τελουμένου of *v.* 874 has a similar explanation, and means 'the falling of our lord'. In the mouth of a supporter and dependent of the 'despot', which the speaker there evidently is, the word is laudatory, for the same reason that it is invidious in the jubilation of the opposite party. Taken thus, the tense and meaning of τελουμένου are right. Aegisthus the man is dead (*v.* 876) but 'the despot', *i.e.* the government of Aegisthus and his satellites, is 'approaching an end'.

[2] The passage in brackets, from the state of the text, is wholly uncertain. The above is merely a sketch of the probable sense.

may give thanks to heaven. 'We are delivered from the strong bridle' that restrained us. 'Rise therefore, ye that have lain grovelling still too long'. Soon the house shall be purged, the luck shall turn, and the place have new possessors. 'The light hath appeared to our eyes'.]

Orestes. Behold this pair, who were tyrants of the land, who slew the sire and usurped the house. Majestic they were in the past, when they sat on their thrones, and loving they were: and still, it may be judged, their condition abides with them, and their oath stands true to the pledge, that they would share, as in all, so in death; this, like the rest, hath been truly kept.

Behold now once more, ye that take cognizance of our sad story, this crafty thing, wherewith my unhappy father was bound, a fetter for his arms and a lock for his feet. Spread it out with your own hands; approach and stand about it, and show this net for a man, that our father—not mine, but our father, who surveyeth all things here, the Sun—may see my mother's unclean work, and so perchance may appear one day as my witness in trial, that I had my just cause in pursuing this death,—my mother's. As for Aegisthus' death I reckon it not; he hath, as from the law, the seducer's penalty. But she, who contrived against her husband so vile a thing as this, against him whose children she conceived and carried beneath her girdle, a burden some time dear but now no dearer than ye see—What thinkest thou of her? I say that, were she eel or viper, her touch would turn a man rotten without any bite, if hardness and native will could do it.

What words shall I use of such, to take the very gentlest? A trap were it for beast?...Or bath-curtain, fit to wrap the feet of a corpse?... Nay, rather a seine...no, a snare, you might say...and a foot-entangling ...garment—This were the kind of thing for a man to get, who cozened travellers, and practised for his living to beguile and then to rob them; with such a cunning weapon might he take off many a life, and his heart often glow with....Ah, such an one as she may I never have in my dwelling for house-fellow! God strike me dead sooner...having no child!

Chorus. Ah me, ah me, a woeful deed! By a horrible death thou wast slain, alas: and he that is left hath growing evil to suffer too.

Or. Did she do it, or did she not?—Nay, I have a witness in this vesture, that it was dyed by Aegisthus' sword. It is the welling blood which hath aided time in spoiling the many hues of the embroidery.—At last, at last, he himself is before me; I utter his praises; I make his lament. And speaking to this thing, whose texture wrought my father's

death, though I feel the misery of the doing, the suffering, and all, the curse of a conquest which gilds me...with pollution,...

Cho. No mortal man may pass a scathless life and escape his tax, alas! But trouble is not present, when it is yet to come.

Or. What is trouble to come, when, like one at the turn of a chariot's course, I know the fatal end to which I am running now? For outward still I am borne overpowered by a mind that will not obey. Fear is ready to make music to my heart, and she to dance to his angry tune. So while I have yet my senses, I say, for the public hearing of those who love me, that I slew not without good cause a mother foul with the murder of my sire and hateful to heaven. And for the persuasion which led me thus far, I aver the oracle given me by Loxias, the Great Prophet of Pytho, that I should do this thing, if, free of harm in consequence, I would keep my life, and that if I neglected it—I will not tell the punishment; for never bow-cast shall reach such height of woe.

And now ye behold me, equipped with bough and wreath, as I purpose to reach the ground and home of Loxias, fixed at the centre-stone, and specially that fire-light famed imperishable, exiling myself far away for this kindred blood; for that as suppliant I should seek no other hearth than his was Loxias' command. Of the manner in which this woe was brought about I bid all men of Argos bear me witness (?); while I, a wanderer, estranged from this land, having left of me, die I or live I, such fame as this,—

Citizen. Nay, as thou hast succeeded (and if thy lips are not bound to evil speech, thou shouldst shun even omen of ill) in giving freedom to all the city of Argos by lightly lopping the heads from a pair of snakes—

Or. Oh, see, see!

Are those slave-women? Gorgon like...with raiment dusk...and multitude of branching snakes!...This is no place for me!

Cit. What fancies whirl thee, thee who hast, if ever man had, the love of thy father? With so strong an advantage, thou needst not fear.

Or. There is no fancy in this trouble for me. In very truth these are my mother's enraged pursuers.

Cit. It is because the blood is yet fresh upon thy hands: hence the confusion that invades thy brain.

Or. Apollo save us, they are more now than they were, and from their eyes they weep horrible gore!

Cit. In, in! The touch of Loxias' purge will set thee free from 'this trouble'.

Or. Ye do not see them, but I do. I am hunted, and stay who will, not I! (*Exit.*)

Cit. Blessings go with thee, and may the provident watching of heaven with favouring circumstance keep thee still!

Chorus. Thus now over the palace of our kings hath yet a third storm of [.....] blown and passed. First at the beginning came the woe of Thyestes in the death, the cruel death, of his children; after the children the man, the fate of the royal spouse, when in the bath was murdered the prince who led the Achaeans to war; and now hath come somewhence yet a third...deliverer, or destroyer shall I say? Where then will end the fatal fury, when pass into closing calm? (*Exeunt.*)

INDICES TO THE NOTES.

I. GREEK.

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